

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST
INDIVIDUALS

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COMPARISON

Abraham Lincoln Comparisons

Individuals

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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**Starring
Paul Giamatti**

February 23, 2011

Russia Links Lincoln With the Freedom of Serfs

By SOPHIA KISHKOVSKY

MOSCOW — Czar Alexander II and President Abraham Lincoln came from wildly different backgrounds, but in their greatest achievements — the liberation of millions of human beings — and in their deaths at assassins' hands, they led eerily parallel lives.

Those similarities have been mined for a new exhibition in Moscow that is being presented as a forum for comparing Russian and American history, and for finding grounds for future cooperation.

The exhibition of more than 200 objects from Russian and American collections, which opened Tuesday with a Kremlin military band playing in czarist uniform at the State Archive of the Russian Federation, represents the latest attempt by Russia to find positive lessons in its past. It coincides with the 150th anniversary of the abolition of serfdom.

Some attendees at the exhibit also said it was a reflection of the "reset" in Russian-American relations initiated by President Barack Obama.

"History decreed that almost simultaneously, in two of the great countries of the world, the Russian Empire and the United States of America, events took place that already contemporaries of that time deemed to be epochal," said Andrei N. Artizov, chief of the Russian Federal Archives Agency, at the ribbon-cutting ceremony. "In St. Petersburg, Czar Alexander II signed the famous manifesto with provisions on February 19, 1861, the act on liberation of the peasants. Two years later, at the height of the Civil War, President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, in Washington, signed the no less famous Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves."

Russia, like the United States, continues to grapple with the legacy of servitude. For centuries, peasants were tied to their owners, and many Russian liberals blame a persistent feudal mind-set for the country's woes and citizens' passivity, while many nationalists fault the way in which Alexander liberated the serfs, saying it undermined traditional values and led to the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Moscow exhibition, called "The Tsar & The President, Alexander II & Abraham Lincoln: Liberator & Emancipator," grew out of a similar one shown in the United States in 2008-2009 to celebrate Lincoln's 200th birthday. It includes a number of items that have never been displayed in Russia and will be shown later this year at Tsarskoye Selo, the summer residence of the czars near St. Petersburg.

The pen with which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation is on loan from the Massachusetts Historical Society and shown opposite the quill pen with which Alexander II signed his manifesto. The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg lent the military uniform on the czar when a terrorist's bomb killed him in 1881.

"Abraham Lincoln and Alexander II can be spoken of in the same breath," James W. Symington, a former Democratic congressman from Missouri, told reporters. His great-grandfather, John Hay, was Lincoln's personal secretary, and Mr. Symington is chairman of the American-Russian Cultural Cooperation Foundation, which conceived the initial exhibition and helped organize the Moscow version.

Financing for the exhibition at the Russian archive came from the U.S. State Department, the Russian government and the Russian office of Novo Nordisk, a Danish health-care company. Novo Nordisk's internal conference center is on the coast near Copenhagen at Hvidovre, an estate where Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, the widowed Danish-born daughter-in-law of Alexander II, lived after the Bolshevik Revolution.

More than the artifacts, however, it was the little-known common threads in Russian and American history that were on display, attendees said.

"Maybe because we all remember very well the years of the Cold War, sometimes we mistakenly think that the spirit of ideological confrontation between Russia and America is characteristic of our relations, but this is a mistake," John R. Beyrle, the U.S. ambassador to Russia, said at the exhibition opening.

Sergei V. Mironenko, director of the State Archive of the Russian Federation, singled out an 1867 letter from a group of American visitors who had landed in Crimea and had asked for an impromptu audience with the czar, which was surprisingly granted.

They praise Alexander for his example in freeing the serfs: "One of the brightest pages that has graced the world's history since written history had birth, was recorded by your Majesty's hand when it loosed the bonds of twenty million serfs; and Americans can but esteem it a privilege to do honor to a ruler who has wrought so great a deed."

One of the letter's signatories is "Sam L. Clemens," known, in Russia as well, as Mark Twain.

LINCOLN AND ASQUITH.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—To the Englishman as to the American—though naturally in a smaller degree—Abraham Lincoln is one of the heroic personalities whose magnetism increases with the passing of the years. In youth he attracts as the classic example of the poor boy becoming famous; in middle age, while that side of his character loses interest, admiration

develops into the veneration universally felt for a pure-souled man who guided his country in its severest time of stress. Americans have not always been judicious in their estimates of Lincoln; hero-worship has often been pushed to extremes, and it has sometimes blinded Americans, in comparing Lincoln with any other statesmen, to the merits of the latter, especially if they be living. Contemporary criticism, however, must always be received in a kindly spirit, and it was with tolerance that one read some time ago in an American paper the question, after a discussion of the position of the Allies: "We remember the tremendous difficulties with which the North had to cope in the Civil War. They were solved largely by the patient genius of one man—but where is England's Lincoln?"

That question derives its main interest from the fact that it is an example of the difficulty always encountered in comparing living men with those whose places history has decided. Possibly the best answer is another question: Did the North at the end of two years of war recognize that patient genius? To that the reply is easy. Any one who has studied the career of Abraham Lincoln knows that it was only by very slow degrees that his genius impressed his countrymen. That being so, it is hardly to be expected that we—not to mention Americans, distant spectators of this world-struggle—should rightly appraise the men on whose shoulders has fallen the burden of leadership. But it is at least interesting, and instructive to those who see no good in any man of their own times, to notice the qualities which Lincoln and the man who is our Premier possess in common. It is not mere fancifulness that sees the possibilities of comparison, for there are many prominent similarities, while admitting that the dissimilarities are also obvious, in the characters of the two statesmen.

At the outset one hastens to admit that as a popular figure Mr. Asquith is far behind Abraham Lincoln. But in that respect he lacks advantages Lincoln had. For instance, he is not an example of the great man risen from poverty, which means there is no romance about him; stories do not cluster round his personality and give a glamour to it such as the people love. There is, in fact, no popular Asquith tradition. Scarcely an anecdote can be told of him, whereas Lincoln yarns were legion. Dissimilar, however, as they are in these ways, they have yet many like qualities, while there is one peculiarly interesting fact—that in private life they were both lawyers, a point of special interest at the moment when it is the fashion among a certain section to pour scorn on the lawyer-politician. Moreover, it is not at all uncommon to hear people holding up Lincoln as an example to our "lawyer-politicians"!

What then are the qualities exhibited by Abraham Lincoln and by Mr. Asquith? They may be placed in this order: ability to see a problem whole and steadfastness in dealing with it; great deliberation in action; continuous capacity to rise to great occasions; unlimited patience; readiness to accept responsibility. Other qualities there are, but these are the main ones that distinguish them as statesmen.

Let us take these seriatim. Few will dispute that the first quality mentioned was undoubtedly outstanding in Lincoln. He saw clearly—more so than any of his contemporaries—the meaning of the problems of North and South, and having seen he never wavered in the course he set. Nor would there be many, friends or enemies, who would not admit that if there is one quality more than another for which Mr. Asquith is noteworthy, it is that same ability. His clear-sighted judgment has been vindicated on many occasions, but never more than in this war, which at the beginning he envisaged with an accuracy which has not yet received its due. Sometimes that steadfastness, which refuses to be moved by optimism or depression, leads his detractors to accuse him of complacency; but far from being that, it is the calm of a strong spirit. Steadfastness is not a showy quality, and the British people have taken a considerable time to recognize its worth in their leader. The American

people did likewise with Lincoln. But as was the case in the Civil War, the serene wisdom of the pilot is recognized, at any rate by some, now that the dawn is breaking.

Deliberation in action. Lincoln would never take a step until he was convinced, not only that he was right, but also that the time was ripe for movement, a tendency which often brought him into collision with the "get on or get out" school of his time. That is the case with Mr. Asquith. He moves slowly, so slowly at times that his friends as well as his enemies have doubted if he saw his course, but he moves surely. This deliberation is more than opportunism, with which it is sometimes confounded; it is rather a capacity for waiting for and utilizing the moment when the mind of the people is ready for action in the direction of the statesman's objective. This is a gift of the highest value in the leader of a democracy, particularly when that democracy is so difficult to lead as is the British. Mr. Asquith has never shown that quality more conspicuously than in the terrific tests of the first eighteen months of the war; he more than any one kept the mind of the people moving towards complete organization for war. That may yet be reckoned his supreme achievement as a War Minister.

Continuous capacity for rising to great occasions—the third quality mentioned—is a very rare possession. We observe, for instance, that individuals of great powers have failed at certain points in their careers when they might have been expected to succeed, but we are not always able to see that the reason for the failure often is because, while they were able to deal with problems of a similar nature, they were not equal to coping with varying situations. Hence it is that a certain elasticity, or rather capaciousness, of intellect is essential to the making of the really

**Life of Susan B. Anthony Likened
To Career of Abraham Lincoln**



SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

over

LIFE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY LIKENED TO LINCOLN'S

Task of Emancipator Called Incomplete Without Crown Being Placed on Head of Suffrage Pioneer.

Wash. Sunday Star Feb. 14-1932

BY ANNA E. HENDLEY.

A WASHINGTON and a Lincoln have come in our great century, and in between their birthdays was born a Susan B. Anthony, whose life has been given to a noble cause; once the target for the cruel and bitter shafts of ridicule, now deemed the noblest among women. The task of Washington and Lincoln could not be complete until the crown was placed on the brow of woman as well as man, and when the great soul of Susan B. Anthony passed on to immortal life, her name, her memory on earth should take its place among the martyrs and saints of liberty.

Washington emancipated his country from the tyranny of a king, Lincoln emancipated a race and removed the blot of slavery, Susan B. Anthony emancipated woman from civil, legal and political oppression. All of these heroic souls suffered from the lack of understanding by the people of their age, but all lived to see the triumph of their causes, and all will have a permanent place in the history of the ages.

Susan B. Anthony was born among the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts February 15, 1820, with the spirit of the reformer and in the atmosphere of progressive thought. She was the second child of Daniel and Lucy Reed Anthony. Her mother, Lucy Reed, was a member of the distinguished Reed family, known to English history from the eleventh century.

Recognized by Quakers.

When Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott called that famous first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y., which was Mrs. Stanton's home, and it adjourned to Rochester, near by, members of the Anthony family signed the immortal Declaration of Principles, there adopted. Quakers from the earliest days recognized the equal rights of woman.

Miss Anthony began her work as a teacher, but early in life she found the school room too narrow. She became interested in the temperance reform, and her first public address was made on that question. She found that its masculine advocates did not care to hear women speak on this or any other subject and would not accept them as delegates to any of their conventions. At this time, in 1851, Miss Anthony first met Mrs. Stanton, and this marked the beginning of her public career and of their friendship, which continued for over 50 years.

The two organized a woman's temperance society, but after two years both became convinced that women were dealing with effects only, and that their first and greatest need was for the ballot—to deal with causes. Thenceforth they directed their efforts toward speaking and working for this object, with the collateral aims of better laws and larger opportunities.

The slavery question grew more and more acute and Miss Anthony found herself in touch with William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and others who spoke for the rights of women as well as for the freedom of the slave.

The Civil War was declared and woman's suffrage as an issue was lost sight of. Early in 1863 Miss Anthony went to

New York and with other suffrage leaders opened headquarters in Cooper Union to roll up a petition for the emancipation of the slaves.

The war ended and then came the struggle over the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to enfranchise the colored man. This was the most tragic chapter in the history of woman suffrage, for when Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton began a revolt against these amendments, which would enfranchise millions of men who were recently slaves and leave out women, they found themselves wholly deserted by the men with whom they had worked shoulder to shoulder for the past 10 or 15 years, and who were now willing to sacrifice the women to secure votes for colored men.

Many of the leading women were won over by the promise of the Republicans that they would immediately take steps to obtain suffrage for women. The amendments were adopted that put barriers against it in the Constitution which had never before existed and the party, during the next 50 years, absolutely refused to redeem its promise.

Convention Called.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton and the few who stood with them called a convention in New York City in 1869 and organized the National American Woman's Suffrage Association to obtain another amendment to the Federal Constitution which would enfranchise women. Miss Anthony never ceased her strenuous labors for this amendment until she passed away in 1906, at the age of 86 years. She did not live until the final victory was won, but she saw the entire status of women revolutionized and every right practically conceded which was demanded at the first women's rights convention in 1840, except the granting of suffrage, and that was ultimately assured.

While Miss Anthony worked for the temperance cause and the abolition of slavery, she subordinated every cause to that of suffrage. To its service she consecrated every hour of her time, every power of her being. It was her work, her recreation, her politics, her religion.

In 1883 Miss Anthony's desire to effect an international suffrage organization was greatly furthered. A nine-month trip to Europe resulted in the forming of a strong committee to promote this purpose, which later brought about the organization of the International Council of Women, which met for the first time in Washington, D. C., in 1888. Thus was the gospel of the equality of women carried to other lands.

Towers of Strength.

At this time came Anna Howard Shaw to the rescue. She and Carrie Chapman Catt were towers of strength and Miss Anthony's chief lieutenants for many years.

By the close of the nineteenth century, persecution and calumny had passed away and Miss Anthony was honored and eulogized wherever she went, but suffrage was still denied by Congress.

In 1900 Miss Anthony placed the

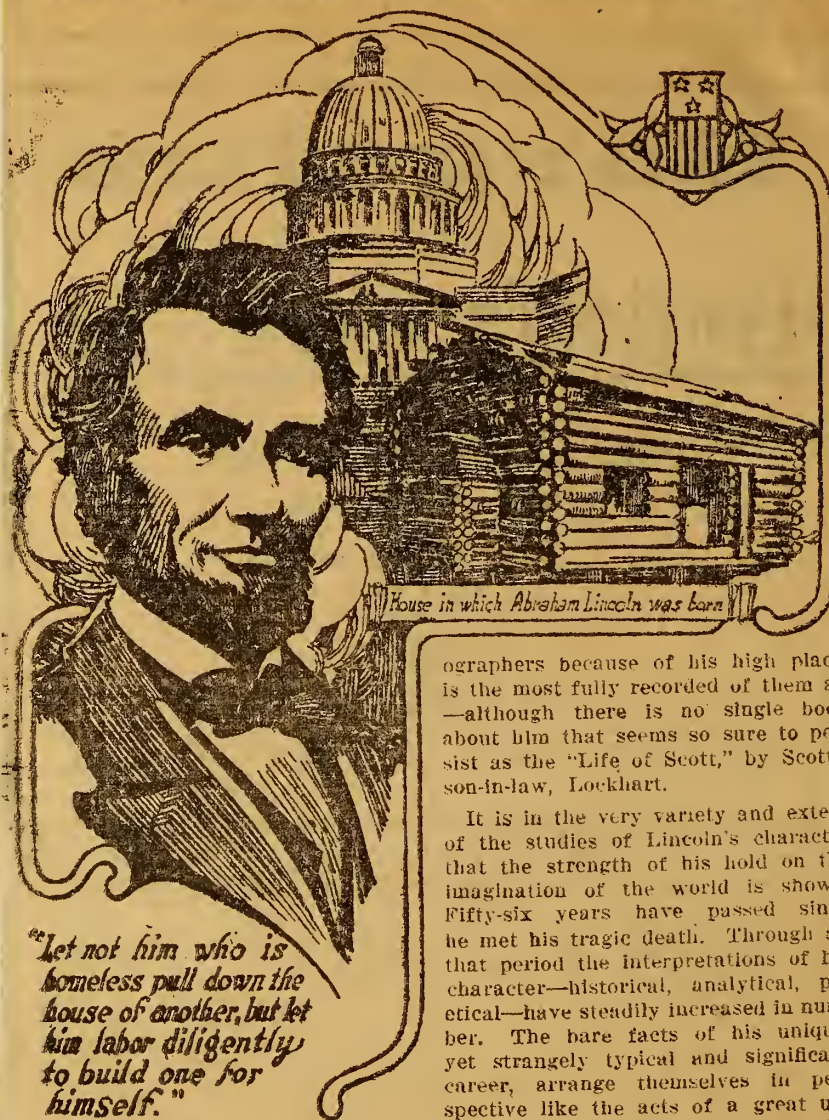
Lincoln and Burns.

(St. Nicholas.)

Lincoln and Burns were kindred spirits in their tenderness, though one was so much stronger than the other in moral muscle. There was the Scotch plowman, sorry to uproot the mountain daisy and scatter the field-mouse's nest; sorry to scare the water-fowl from the dimpling loch; heart-wounded when he saw the wounded hare; and waking at night in the whirling snow storm, thinking of the "ourie cattle and silly sheep," and the "wee, helpless," cowering birds.

There was the Illinois woodsman with his hundreds of unrecorded sympathies, for he left no poems to tell them. No one will ever know how often he scorned a chance to rob a nest or bring down with his gun a feathered mate; or how often, instead of the thought of cruelty, there fluttered over his rough face that look of tender understanding, which always came when wood creatures or men were at his mercy. The boy Lincoln had argued, "An ant's life is as sweet to it as ours to us," and, as his first incensed boy speeches had been against cruelty to animals, now, as a man, he would stop to hunt up a nest from which two young birds had fallen because he could not have slept otherwise; or pull a pig out of the mud "to take the pain out of his own mind." These stories are more important than they seem, because they point to Lincoln's greatest life-work—the setting at liberty those that were bound. Had the New Salem grocer never felt, as he did, the little pains of little things, it is hardly believable that he would have shared the great pain with that immensity of suffering.

LINCOLN THE MAN



House in which Abraham Lincoln was born

*"let not him who is
homeless pull down the
house of another, but let
him labor diligently
to build one for
himself."*

A. Lincoln

A recent writer on Lincoln as a "lover of mankind" has likened him to two other great men who have become a common possession of our Anglo-Saxon race. Although they seem almost as far separated from each other as from Lincoln himself, both Chaucer and Sir Walter Scott reveal to the careful observer the qualities that provoked a comparison apparently so remote. These are the qualities of a lover of mankind.

Chaucer displayed them in depicting, with sympathy for all, the group of widely various characters who made their immortal Canterbury Pilgrimage together. Scott displayed them not only through the creatures of his imagination, but also in his recorded relations with all his fellow beings. In that respect Chaucer is at a disadvantage, because he lived long before biography had attained anything like its modern abundance. Lincoln, later than Scott, and more tempting to bi-

ographers because of his high place, is the most fully recorded of them all—although there is no single book about him that seems so sure to persist as the "Life of Scott," by Scott's son-in-law, Lockhart.

It is in the very variety and extent of the studies of Lincoln's character that the strength of his hold on the imagination of the world is shown. Fifty-six years have passed since he met his tragic death. Through all that period the interpretations of his character—historical, analytical, poetical—have steadily increased in number. The bare facts of his unique, yet strangely typical and significant career, arrange themselves in perspective like the acts of a great uplifting tragedy. If he had lived in the days when myths were made, it is easy to imagine that in the process of time he would have grown into a great mythical figure, a King Arthur of the New World, a half-divine hero like those that we associate with the most distant antiquity.

But he belonged to no such period. His age is one of the most amply recorded in all history, and the records of his life are so intertwined with those of men and events quite without poetic or heroic suggestion, that his feet can never be wholly removed from the earth. Indeed, it is much better that no such possibility exists. We need to know that out of our common life can spring so extraordinary an example of the development of which our human nature is capable.

When all is said and done, when his wisdom, his patience, his sacrifice are fully remembered, we shall delight pre-eminently to recall him as the friendly, humorous, accessible lover of mankind.—Youth's Companion.

Two Great Partners In World Leadership

Sir,—After a lapse of some eighty years the fight against slavery is once more resumed. In the great debate of 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas presented their arguments and in 1942 Premier Winston Churchill offered his views. As the words of Lincoln blasted his adversary and thus made man, created in the image of God, free, so likewise strove Churchill in our time. As Lincoln was God-inspired so also is Churchill. The prophet in Lincoln is reincarnated in the soul of Churchill; and the wisdom and courage and tenacity of Churchill are inheritances from Lincoln. Both are inspired by the Bible and the true Word of God. Both were wartime Leaders. Lincoln felled his enemies, and the brutal enemies of Churchill will meet a like end. Here are two crusading giants battling for the freedom of man. The praise of the one is shared by the other; and the immortality of the "Sage of Springfield" is already betowed on the "Lion of London."

God hath willed it that the two,

each in turn, should be surrounded by great helpers and partners in the battle for freedom; and destiny willed it that each should be victorious in the common cause. Relatively speaking, no two leaders of Democracy were ever so much akin, and none others were so well endowed to lead the free masses against the despot of slavery and to defeat them. Through a throw-forward of history President Lincoln is again in the White House, at Washington, in the person of President Roosevelt; and through manifest destiny President Roosevelt is a partner of Premier Churchill. On February 12, 1942, it will be 133 years since the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Let us all offer a prayer to his undying memory, and let our United Nations take on a new lease of life from the things Lincoln stood for and died for. Is it any wonder that great cities of the new and old world have monuments to Lincoln? Is it any wonder, then, that Canada's cities, too, should strive to perpetuate Lincoln's fame? The spirit of Lincoln is abroad in the universe, and it will assure and secure Victory and Peace to the Great Friends of Humanity and of Freedom.

A.J.L.

2/12/42

CLAY

CLAY AND LINCOLN.

Dr. Pasfield of this city has a copy of the inscription on the monument which was erected to Henry Clay at New Orleans. The copy was taken by the doctor when on a visit to New Orleans in 1881 from the lettering on the shaft and its accuracy is vouched for. The inscription, which is a quotation from the utterances of Mr. Clay, is as follows:

"If I could be instrumental in eradicating the deep stains of slavery from the character of our country, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumph ever decreed to the most successful conqueror."

These words, engraved as they are, upon a monument located in what was at the time it was erected one of the hot beds of slavery in its worst form, and echoing the sentiment which ultimately plunged this nation into the most dreadful civil war in all history, are of particular interest at this time.

Henry Clay had the courage to declare his disapproval of the slave traffic in this country and was able to see with prophetic vision how great would be the service to the nation of him who could wipe out the stain upon the country's honor. Without a doubt he believed the country would produce a man big enough and great enough to free the slaves.

And it did. Abraham Lincoln of Springfield was the man. Abraham Lincoln, the one hundredth anniversary of whose birth we have just celebrated in so fitting a manner and to whose memory the whole country paid tribute yesterday achieved for himself all the glory Henry Clay coveted.

And the world has not failed to place upon the emancipation the same sort of an estimate as that expressed by the statesman who "would rather be right than president." Because he proclaimed the black man a free man, and decreed that he be allowed to go on his way unmolested evermore, and because he made good the proclamation by force of arms, all Christendom unites in declaring the deed the greatest achievement in history.

K. M. Landis II:

'Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight'

VACHEL LINDSAY once wrote a famous poem entitled: "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight in Springfield, Ill."

The thing made me wonder whether the ghost of Lincoln might have been abroad the other afternoon when Gov. Dewey paid a visit to his tomb on the way to the G.O.P. governors' conference at St. Louis.



Abraham Lincoln.

"As leader of the Republican party today," said Dewey, "I reverently place this wreath before the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. May God make us worthy of his spirit and of his name."

It was a graceful gesture for Dewey to make, but why did he approach Lincoln in his official capacity?

We know Dewey is leader of the Republican party today, just as Lincoln was 88 years ago. And it may be that this gives him some special right to commune with Lincoln that the rest of us do not have.

Why the Credentials?

BUT in making a pilgrimage it is not ordinarily necessary to display credentials. Especially should this be true at the tomb of an unpretentious man who was always ready to talk to anybody.

I thought of Dewey and then of Lindsay's lines:

"A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,
The prairie-lawyer, master of us all."

Do you suppose Lincoln was around? A mourning figure, as the poet imagined, who could not rest:

"Near the old courthouse pacing up and down,
Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards
He lingers where his children used to play . . ."

Dewey inspected the old Lincoln home on 8th st., and as he left the newspapermen scribbled down his comment:

"Very impressive and very charming."

Lincoln Had States' Rights Problem.

DEWEY meant well, and perhaps Lincoln would have felt complimented to know that the new leader of the Republican party had visited his tomb and his house, before proceeding to St. Louis to tackle the question of states' rights.

You may remember that in leaving Albany, Dewey was asked whether there would be anyone at the conference to represent the federal point of view, since the governors were likely to be partisans of states' rights.

"I think Gov. Bricker and I will exercise that viewpoint," he replied, "since we face the possibility of having to exercise that responsibility."

All of us know how Lincoln faced that responsibility when the advocates of states' rights insisted that there should be no federal interference with the extension of slavery—the great national problem of his day.

And, it would be fair to assume—after what happened at Springfield—that Lincoln would be somewhat interested in whether the St. Louis conference was in any way affected by Dewey's entreaty:

"May God make us worthy of his spirit and his name."

The Lincoln Touch

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 12 (Reuters) — The Rev. Jesse Jackson compared President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa to Abraham Lincoln today on the 181st anniversary of the American President's birth.

The American civil rights leader praised Mr. De Klerk for freeing Nelson Mandela from prison and legalizing the African National Congress.

"This was a courageous step for President De Klerk," Mr. Jackson told journalists at the Cape Town Press Club.

He compared Mr. De Klerk to Lincoln, who moved to free Amer-

ican slaves in 1863 with the Emancipation Proclamation.

"Both men rose above history and tradition at the risk of losing themselves," Mr. Jackson said in remarks coinciding with Lincoln's birthday — Feb. 12, 1809.

Mr. Jackson met Mr. Mandela briefly on Sunday evening, but most local newspapers ignored the encounter and he was given little time with the African National Congress leader.

Mr. Jackson met Mr. De Klerk today and the encounter was equally brief. "It was just a courtesy call," a presidential spokesman said.

The
New York
Times

2-13-90

Mr. Dukakis and Frank Perdue

NY TIMES 7/17/88

By Jerry Della Femina

He's the size of Speedy Alka-Seltzer. He combines the earnest and naïve qualities of Smokey the Bear with the soft whimsical humor of Jacko the Everyready Battery Bore.

He's Michael Dukakis, and watch closely as Madison Avenue turns him from an average-guy-next-door into a slick-hippy-dippy product before your eyes.

At this very minute, some of America's finest advertising minds are clustered in smoke-filled rooms trying to figure out how to sell Dukakis.

This is the story of what they're up against.

One of the adman, an odds-on favorite to handle the creative portion of the campaign, is Ed McCabe. He's one of America's most talented advertising writers — the guy who turned an obscure Maryland chicken farmer named Frank Perdue into a household name.

Jerry Della Femina is president of a Manhattan-based advertising agency.

McCabe had an advantage with Perdue. Perdue, I think (and I am not alone), looks like a chicken. Dukakis does not look like a President. In fact, with Lloyd Bentsen towering over him, you can barely see him.

So Dukakis's first problem is height. You can be a successful short politician if you have a sense of humor: Fiorello La Guardia and Winston Churchill. You can also be a successful tall politician and be unfunny: Charles De Gaulle, Abe Lincoln, Bill Bradley. Dukakis is small and not a laugh riot — a sad combination.

I mean, if he said, "Call me the Duke, for short," you'd die laughing, wouldn't you?

So the question is, Does Dukakis need a gag writer or an ad writer? Will his commercials open with "A funny thing happened to me on the way to the Presidency"? Can we get him to smile — I mean, really smile. (Can we get George Bush to stop smiling? That's another story. I don't even want to tackle it.)

One thing is for sure. One evening in late October, Dukakis will look straight into the TV camera and say: "Hello, I'm Mike Dukakis, and I'm here to tell you the side-splitting story of the Massachusetts Economic Miracle." With this, a cream pie will

slam into his face. He'll remove some cream from his eyes, lick his fingers and give us a great big wink and an even bigger smile.

And we'll hear the dulcet tones of Don Pardo announcing: "Live from New York! It's 'Saturday Night'! With tonight's guest, Miracle Mikey Dukakis!"

Off-camera, a dozen ecstatic advertising types will pound each other on the back. "I told you he was a scream," one will say. Another, who worked for Richard Nixon, will say, "It's the new Dukakis."

Humor can't carry the whole freight. What about the admen and public-relations aides? Now we get down to what counts: character assassination.

It's the only way. Here's why: Dukakis, a decent man, will want to attack Bush's record. But Bush claims that as Vice President he has no record.

This is where the high-priced Madison Avenue types come in. "I've got a slogan that hits pay dirt," one will say. "It shows that the Duke is Mr. Fun. It capitalizes on his size. And it's goes for the jugular."

The next day, Dukakis turns up sporting his new campaign button. It reads, "Vote the Shrimp, not the Wimp." □

Never Too Old to Learn

One of the most interesting factors in the life of youthful Capt. Anthony Eden is his everlasting willingness to learn new lessons.

At the age of 21, a full-fledged military hero, he went to Oxford where he might have been three years before had it not been for the war.

The fact that he had already made a name for himself did not stand in the way of his ambition to develop other sides of a well-rounded personality.

Students of American history know that the same thing is true of Abraham Lincoln.

When Lincoln was a man of 39 and a representative in congress, he spent a large part of his spare time in the congressional library.

He made the most of his opportunities to learn and to keep on learning.

Had Eden been satisfied to rest on his war-won laurels, he would probably not be one of the most potent figures in Europe today.

Had Lincoln said to himself, "Well, I'm a congressman now. What's the use of studying any more," he might never have become the god of the nation's idolatry.

Man is never too old to learn. That is a maxim that is the open sesame to success.

Ft. Wayne Journal Gazette

Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette

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The Greatness Of Two Men

Tomorrow marks the one hundred thirty-first anniversary of the birth of a great American—Abraham Lincoln.

Today marks the ninety-third anniversary of the birth of another great American—Thomas A. Edison.

In paying tribute to the one, let us not forget the other.

For each contributed, in his particular way, to the healthy growth of our beloved nation.

Lincoln was a righteous force. Edison was a righteous force.

Lincoln's parents were poor. Edison's parents were poor.

Lincoln was born in a rude farm cabin near Hodgenville, Ky. Edison was born in the village of Milan, O. (1930 population, 678).

When Lincoln was a lad of seven, his family moved north to Spencer county, Ind. When Edison was a lad of seven, his family moved north to Port Huron, Mich.

Lincoln obtained little formal schooling. Edison obtained little formal schooling.

Lincoln worked on his father's farm, or on the neighboring farms. He clerked at odd times in a general store.

Edison likewise labored with his hands. At the age of 12 he became a trainboy on a branch of the Grand Trunk Line.

Lincoln prized education. Edison prized education.

Each valued the knowledge that comes from books, and the knowledge that comes from men.

Lincoln walked miles to obtain books, which he read by the light of flames in the fireplace.

Edison rescued the son of the local station agent, who taught him telegraphy as a reward.

Lincoln "drifted" south to New Orleans at the age of 19; there he came into conscious contact with chattel slavery—a contact that affected his entire life.

Edison "drifted" south from Michigan to Indianapolis. There, at the age of 17, he invented an automatic telegraph repeater—an invention that affected his entire life.

Each boy worked hard. Each labored far into the night. Pioneering, planning, perfecting, each gave heart and mind unstintingly to his life's occupation.

At the age of 29, Lincoln was leader of his political party in the Illinois legislature. At 35, he was one of Springfield's leading lawyers. At 37, he was elected to congress. At 39, he was recognized by the national administration as the leader of his party in his state. At 47, without solicitation and without desire for the honor, he was runner-up for the vice-presidential nomination of his party. At 49, he received a greater popular vote for the U. S. senatorship than the leading presidential possibility of the opposition. At 51, he was elected President of the United States.

Edison, like Lincoln, did not spring into national prominence overnight. His intellectual development was sure and steady. Like Lincoln, Edison was no human mushroom; he was an oak.

Edison improved stock tickers and telegraph appliances. He invented a typewriter, a device which later became the mimeograph, transmission developments for the Bell telephone, the "talking machine," the incandescent electric lamp, the electric locomotive, and a railway signal system.

* * *

A single stroke of Lincoln's pen, after sleepless soul-searching nights, led to the freeing of the slaves.

Lincoln cemented the federal Union. He made the United States, in fact as in name, states united.

He achieved lines of deathless prose that rank with the words of Shakespeare and of David.

He gave America her greatest human example of nobility, wit, and common sense clothed in the mantle of humility.

Edison's genius brought to his countrymen their first electric light bulb, their first dic-

tating machines, the forerunners of their first radio tubes.

Electric refrigerators, airplanes, automobiles, subways, and hundreds of other wonders of the transportation, communication and mechanical world owe their very existence—either directly or indirectly—to the genius of Edison.

* * *

Edison, like Lincoln, was a humble man. Two who sprang from small beginnings became rulers over men and things.

Each knew the value of power, whether the power of government or the power of science.

Each used power to benefit humanity, not as a means of personal aggrandizement, nor as an end in itself.

Lincoln and Edison belonged to different ages, grappled with different problems, produced solutions that varied each from the other as the stars in their course.

Each strengthened America and the American people.

Each freed masses of men—the one from chains of chattel slavery, the other from the darkness of human ignorance.

Each, in the final analysis, was great not so much for what he did as for what he was.

Lincoln and Edison—splendid Americans

San Diego Union, California
February 12, 1958

Spirit of Lincoln and Edison

AT THIS CRUCIAL POINT IN American history, we need to draw on every resource at our command—material, inspirational; present, past.

This week affords an opportunity to look back upon the lives of two Americans and to find qualities in them that we can use now and in the future.

Today is the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Yesterday was the birthday of Thomas A. Edison.

Lincoln was President in a time of political crisis that threatened to tear this nation asunder forever.

Edison, the inventor, lived during a time of economic and social challenge, dramatized by new discoveries and ap-

plications in the fields of electricity, telephonics and chemistry.

What have they — these two Americans — to offer us today?

In a challenging world, we can reflect upon, and be strengthened by, the humility, dedication and resolution of Lincoln.

Our youths, particularly, can draw inspiration from the curiosity, the zeal, the inventiveness of Edison.

From Lincoln the dedication and direction; from Edison the drive and devotion.

From both, the answer to the choice in a challenge, as Lincoln put it, whether, "we shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

Edward Everett and Lincoln

Edward Everett who with Lincoln dedicated the Gettysburg battlefield spoke for one or two hours and Lincoln four minutes. When they were through the scholarly New England statesman congratulated Lincoln, saying this the President's speech would for all time be on the lips of everyone while his would be forgotten. How prophetic was the thought. For the past year or two we have even had the identity of Lincoln and Everett listed as Edwin M. Stanton, Wm. M. Evarts, Rufus Clivate, Charles Summer, and W. H. Seward. On March 12, 1936, H. E. Wiggam in his syndicate article in the Springfield State Journal entitled, "Let's Explore Your Mind," says:

It is said that when Senator William Seward finished his sixty minutes speech at Gettysburg there was loud applause but that when Lincoln, who followed him, finished his four minute address the

people sat in absolute silence, struck dumb, by the grandure of his noble utterance. The greatest emotions are those that are felt silently within and very often silence in the presence of great events or achievements or utterance is a far higher tribute than can be expressed by any amount of noise.—End of quotation.

Dr. Wiggam's philosophy may be faultless but his history is indefensible, but it carries out Everett's statement that the people would forget.

Wk by Wk _____ 3/21/36

English View

A FLAW IN THE PARALLEL

LINCOLN DAY was remembered in England this year as well as in the United States. The English press, which when Lincoln was alive called him all kinds of scurrilous names, is now much given to citing his example and quoting his words in support of the policy of the British Government. Lloyd George is frequently compared to Lincoln and the Premier himself has hinted at such a similarity.

We are glad to see that the English take a fairer view of Lincoln's character than they did when he was first elected President, and we believe that they are in large measure justified in comparing their war against Prussianism with our war against slavery. The comparison of their great war Premier with our great war President is also an apt one and a compliment to both men. Lloyd George, like Lincoln, is a man of humble birth, called because of his unique ability to lead the nation in its hour of peril. He, like Lincoln, is a representative of the people, thinking with them and laboring for their advancement. Like Lincoln, he is endowed with a common sense amounting to genius, and with a homely eloquence that carries conviction. Lloyd George quotes Lincoln in support of his refusal of foreign intervention, and this may be justified, altho there is a difference between the intervention of a friendly power in an international war and of a hostile power in a civil war.

But the closer the parallel is drawn the more con-

PENDENT

February 26, 1917

spicuous appears one point of difference. Lincoln was always ready to confer with his enemies with a view to peace. Lloyd George persistently refuses such a conference, even when offered by his enemies.

In 1864 the President gave a letter to one of the leading pacifists, F. P. Blair, to go thru the lines for the purpose of arranging a peace conference, and declared his willingness at any time to receive agents of the Confederacy informally with a view to bringing about an agreement. When Alexander Stephens, the Confederate Vice-President, with two other members of that government, appeared at the front, Lincoln went in person with Secretary Seward and on a steamer in Hampton Roads held a friendly discussion in which Lincoln urged Stephens to get the southern states to abolish slavery as the first step toward reconciliation. One of the Confederate commissioners tried to convince Lincoln that the Confederacy should be regarded as a foreign power, not as rebellious states, and supported his plea with a long historic argument on the precedent established by Charles I in recognition of subjects in arms against his authority. This argument Lincoln met as usual with a nonchalant but pertinent answer:

I do not profess to be posted in history. On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles was that he lost his head.

The Hampton Roads conference came to nought, for the Southerners were not yet ready to give up their cherished institution. But Lincoln, by condescending to meet with his foes, lost nothing, not even his hopes of abolishing slavery peaceably. It was by that time evident that the North was bound to win in the long run, but on the very day after his return from the conference he proposed a plan of offering \$400,000,000 to the southern states as compensation for the loss of their slaves. He calculated that continuing the war for two hundred days longer would cost the North this amount, and he was greatly disappointed when his plan failed to receive support from his Cabinet.

That was Lincoln's way. Now if Lloyd George is willing to give some pacifist like Bertrand Russell or E. D. Morel a personal pass to Berlin and if he will consent to go to The Hague to talk over terms of peace informally with Chancellor von Bethmann-Holweg, then we will acknowledge that he has a right to be placed on a par with our Lincoln.

Comparison of Abraham Lincoln with Patrick Henry

Both were men of humble origin, rough & uncultivated in manner, & with little outward show of the qualities which ensure worldly success. In both, political conflict called forth powers of which their everyday life gave no promise. Both owed their success as speakers, not to culture or learning, but to the earnestness of their convictions & the native vigor of their minds. But Lincoln had none of that brilliancy of imagination & vivid strength of speech which made Henry the foremost orator among the statesmen of the Revolution. On the other hand he far surpassed Henry in worldly wisdom, in self control & patience, & in the art of availing himself of the weaknesses of others & making them the instruments of his own success.

— From "History of the World"
By Nugent Robinson.

LINCOLN AND GLADSTONE ^{2/6/09}

COMPARED BY DR. AKED

After Pointing Out Remarkable Contrasts Between "Two Greatest Men of the Nineteenth Century," He Declares They Were One in Their Patriotism and Service to Human Liberty—Praises Darwin and Tennyson, the Centenary of Whose Births Is at Hand.

By Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aked.

IT would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that which is presented by the two greatest men of the nineteenth century, Lincoln and Gladstone. One is essentially rough; the other is essentially refined. One is the child of the people; the instincts of the other are aristocratic.

One is born in a log hut, brought up under conditions of squalid poverty, knows every hardship that the rough life of the frontiersman and the pioneer can impose, is destitute of any but the most elementary schooling, learns the very rudiments of things by the most painful application and denial. The other is the natural born heir of the world's culture, receives the highest intellectual equipment which his day and his country can supply, associates with scholars and with statesmen and with world rulers in literature and art and science from his birth, and has his path smoothed to any career of greatness he may choose.



REV. DR. AKED.

The speech of one is simple, clear, direct, abounding in wise saws and modern instances, in quips and cranks, and homely anecdote and mother wit. The rhetoric of the other models itself upon the ancient classics, is replete with quotation from the Greeks and the Latins and the mighty men of a shadowy past. His intellect is itself complex; his spirit subtle; and the light streams on his mind and is reflected thence as from a million facets, every angle setting the truth in new, strange vision.

The one bears in his face the mark of mortal anguish; his smiles are put on just to cover his tears; his rough-and-tumble jokes conceal the brooding sadness of his soul. The other walks this earth like a conqueror, carries his head near the stars, and his cold, handsome features bespeak the serenity of his soul.

Two Men One in Patriotism.

Yet these two men are one in patriotism, one in their passionate devotion to duty, one in their service to human liberty. Though here again the difference is striking. Lincoln loved liberty always and was always true to her. Gladstone was born and brought up in the belief that liberty was a bad thing. He lived to see that it was a good thing. The whole development of his life is conditioned by that emergence.

They were one in their faith in the essential goodness of the human heart. They infused their own mighty spirit into masses of their fellow-countrymen in the belief that human nature was capable of rising to the

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heights where they stepped secure. And the wonderful thing is—oh, the wonderful thing!—that the human nature to which they made their appeal showed itself able to respond. Men became what they ought to be because Lincoln and Gladstone believed they must!

There was not the same striking difference in birth, circumstance and training in the case of Tennyson and Darwin. They were born in much the same rank of life; their early education was similar; their circumstances did not widely differ. And though it may seem absurd to you as I say it, there was something in the quality of the spirit of each which made them kin. Darwin was a poet; Tennyson was a man of science. Darwin had the creative imagination of Tennyson; Tennyson the laborious accuracy of Darwin.

Tennyson, Dying, Saw Clearly.

Tennyson fought his doubts and gathered strength, and found a stronger faith his own. His dying eyes saw clearer than his daring manhood did. As the shadows rolled apart and the old man's gaze saw through the opening world-gates of the life to come, he poured his great strong faith into the matchless music of that piece which the Master of Balliol said would live in men's grateful hearts forever:

"For though from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crossed the Bar."

Darwin's mind, according to his own confession, hardened and his absorption in material research unfitted him and left him no leisure for speculations upon the eternal things of the spirit; but Darwin remains one of the mightiest masters of human thought, light-bringer and nature's priest, and his place among the immortals is secure. Tennyson kept himself through all the years abreast of the discoveries associated with the name of Darwin and Darwinism. As the experts marshaled the new facts, he set them in the light of faith, related them to his own unfailing belief in God, Christ and immortality. Darwin, not less than Lincoln, was an emancipator, an emancipator of the human intellect. Darwin, not less than Gladstone, lived his life in heroic devotion to duty, sworn interpreter in the high court of nature; who for a house full of silver and gold would not have falsified by an accent or a punctuation point the evidence he saw. The bodies of Darwin and Tennyson rest in Westminster abbey; their souls alike rest in God.

Genius of Lincoln Cannot Die.

Lincoln and Gladstone, Darwin and Tennyson—we are their handiwork, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, spirit of their spirit and children of their breath. Here in this free land the genius of Lincoln has become so entirely a part of the fabric of America that to tear out of our life that for which Lincoln stands would be to shake the United States to its foundations. Gladstone cannot die. He lives in the laws of Great Britain, in her home and foreign policies, in the principles to which earnest souls every day make their appeal, in the chivalry, the public spirit, the effulgent sense of duty which constitute the glory of her public life.

Darwin has changed the whole current of human thought forever. As this old world, from the day when the "Novum Organum" saw the light, could never swing back to the pre-Baconian darkness, so neither after the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man" could human thought travel back again to the crude imaginings of a narrower day. And it may be, on any fair appreciation of Tennyson's work, that our age and after ages will have to confess that when materialism pushed the battle to the gate against the Christian creeds, the victory of a spiritual faith was won for us by Alfred Tennyson. Without us they could not have been made perfect. They have made us what we are, but we make them immortal!

"This is life to come
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow."

The Two Contrasted

Undoubtedly Wm. H. Herndon believed that he had a great influence over Lincoln. While Lincoln early was as much opposed to the evils of slavery and its extension as any American, yet he could not fully endorse the extreme procedure of some of the Abolitionists. No course in this line was too drastic for Herndon. As Lincoln took a more positive stand it pleased his junior partner. In explaining the difference in temperament of the two Herndon himself says:

"Lincoln and I were just the opposite one of another. He was cautious and practical; I was spontaneous, ideal and speculative. He arrived at truths by reflection, I, by intuition; he, by reason; I, by my soul. He calculated; I went to toil asking no questions, never doubting. Lincoln had great faith in my intuition, and I had great faith in his reason."

week by week 1-26-38

Democracy vs. Dictatorship

**Lincoln and Hitler
In Mythical 'Debate'**

By International News Service

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—The Council for Democracy today marshalled opposition opinions of Abraham Lincoln and Adolf Hitler in a mythical "debate" over democracy versus dictatorship. Hitler's arguments were chosen from "Mein Kampf" and other writings and speeches attributed to him, Lincoln's from his recorded addresses and letters. The opposing arguments follow:

HITLER: "The very enormity of a lie contributes to its success the masses of the people easily succumb to it."

LINCOLN: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all the time."

HITLER: "Only in the eternally regular use of force lies the preliminary condition for success."

LINCOLN: "Let us have faith that right makes might."

HITLER: "We may be inhuman!...We may be unjust; but if we save Germany we have repaired the greatest injustice in the world."

LINCOLN: "Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet."

HITLER: "Anyone who tries to interfere with this mission (his leadership) is an enemy of the race-state."

LINCOLN: "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

HITLER: "The Nazi party must not be the masses' slave, but their master."

LINCOLN: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

Los Angeles San Herald & Empire
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Editorial

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LINCOLN VS. HOHENZOLLERN.

Abraham Lincoln came of a family as poor as the proverbial "church mouse."

William Hohenzollern was born "with a golden spoon in his mouth."

Abraham Lincoln was the son of parents whose chief asset was honesty, and whose only reputation was that of a family that behaved themselves, paid their debts, and were respectable.

William Hohenzollern was the elder son of a royal family, born to inherit a crown, the coming ruler of a mighty nation, and the pampered pet of a worshipful people.

Abraham Lincoln was compelled to take up a grown man's duties in his early youth, and these duties were those of the most common labor, the hard life of a backwoods pioneer, a railsplitter.

William Hohenzollern never knew the necessity of work, and such physical development as he acquired came from the exercises he could be induced to take by a corps of trainers, and that of the military drill.

Abraham Lincoln acquired his education by studying at night from books he at first borrowed, and later on was able to purchase. He was his own teacher, and what might well be termed "a self-made man."

William Hohenzollern was supplied with a corps of private tutors from boyhood, and given every opportunity that wealth and position could secure to acquire a finished education in all the branches of mental development and social culture.

Abraham Lincoln won every advancement he made in public life by his well earned reputation of "Honest Abe," overcoming by his earnestness and determination all opposition, advancing step by step from the position he had earned

for himself as a country lawyer, to President of the United States.

William Hohenzollern never knew what opposition really was, and his advancement in the court over which he was born to rule, only depended upon the passing of the years, and the death of the kingly father who was his only earthly superior.

Abraham Lincoln came to the height of his power at the most critical time in his country's entire history, a time when public sentiment was badly divided, and his administration was without question the most trying, exacting and important the Country has ever known.

William Hohenzollern reached the pinnacle of his career surrounded by a happy, contented and united people who laid their very all at his feet, and he had but to follow in the footsteps of his father in handling the affairs of state, which were in excellent condition.

Abraham Lincoln saw the clouds of war gathering with deep sorrow. He did all in his power to prevent its coming. But when it came it was his policy and his will that finally brought victory and peace; and while he himself fell a victim to an assault by a cowardly assassin from the ranks of his opponents the victory was won and today the name of Abraham Lincoln is not only cherished in the North, the section he championed in the contest, but in the Southland the white-haired veterans of the "lost cause," have come to know the value of his great heart, love his memory and reverence his name.

William Hohenzollern planned and plotted with his chosen chieftains to bring upon his people a war. Not because his people had been wronged or insulted, or because they were in need, but purely and simply to advance his own interests and those of his family. Dreaming again the dream of World Empire with himself as the ruler, the dream of Napoleon, he plunged the world into the most awful conflict history has ever known. But despite his forty years of preparation, despite the fact that he had builded up the greatest war machine man had ever seen, he was defeated, and is today an outcast, living on foreign soil, knowing not what the future has in store for him, living like the criminal he is, with death punishment staring him in the face, simply awaiting an unknown end. Whether he is ever to be brought to the punishment he deserves, no one can yet tell, but whatever his end is to be, his name will not only go down in the histories of the nation he attempted to plunder as a fiend and a murderer, but the future generations of his own country will depict him as the worst enemy it ever knew.

Such is the difference between these two men, one, starting from nothing, but filled with a desire to benefit his fellow-men, arose to the highest pinnacle of international renown, while the other, starting with more than any man ought really to desire, filled with a spirit of selfishness and a heart of stone—his name will be one hated and despised so long as mortal history continues to exist.

The contrast in the lives of these two men furnishes a lesson to all of us. To those who are poor and oppressed, it ought to hold out a lamp of hope and encouragement, while to those who are powerful and great it ought to be a warning that all should heed; and while it is not to be expected that many of us can rise to the full height attained by Abraham Lincoln, it should be such a lesson that none of us will ever fall to the level of William Hohenzollern.

By STERLING HEILIG.

THE two greatest men of their day wrote heart-to-heart letters to each other; yet the fact that they did so remains completely unknown.

Every scrap of their handwriting is religiously preserved on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet what has become of the correspondence of Abraham Lincoln and Victor Hugo?

They were mental and spiritual giants; and the letters were private. Yet on neither side of the Atlantic is a page of them acknowledged to exist.

But in a place of honor of the Victor Hugo Museum of Paris hangs a large sized cabinet photograph of Lincoln which is claimed to be unknown to the collections; and it bears a dedication which is exciting a great deal of interest. It is the sole relic of the correspondence:

"Ab. Lincoln. To Victor HUGO."

It is known that the great French poet and Romanticist treasured photograph and autograph. They hung always beside his bed, between the portrait of his two great French contemporaries, Alexandre Dumas and Georges Sand. But is the dedication an autograph of Lincoln?

Is Lincoln known to have ever signed his name in print scrip?

A well-known citizen of Washington, today in Paris, tells me that he has seen samples of Lincoln's signature to military orders done in detached print letters. He is Victor Hugo Duras. But the Librarian of Congress is on the attentive. He is searching the Manuscript Division. Meanwhile, J. C. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Chief of the Manuscript Division, declares:

"No examples of Lincoln's name, signed to military orders in detached print letters are known to us. From the general principles of the identification of handwriting, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to satisfactorily authentically such a printed name as a signature."

But did Lincoln intend it as an autograph?

Is it not, rather, a dedication in lapidary style, appropriately inscribed in print characters?

There are overwhelming considerations, as will presently appear, why none but Lincoln could have done it.

And there is no other, equally overwhelming, why he could not have done it. It is visible, on the face of the dedication. See if you can guess it.

How started this correspondence which has never been alluded to in any life of the Great Emancipator, of which the Librarian of Congress had found no vestige at last hearing, and of which Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, in Washington has no data?

It began, says the Paris tradition,

with a letter which Victor Hugo certainly wrote President Buchanan on behalf of John Brown. It was the affair of the hour. The giant Romanticist burned for the emancipation of his black brothers; and John Brown became to him a hero of the antique mould. Flattered like a demigod at home and truly the world poet of the epoch, Victor Hugo had a touching and rather childish confidence that any Chief of State would listen attentively to his plea.

On Dec. 2, 1859, Victor Hugo wrote his impassioned letter to President Buchanan, later published, in the "Actes et Paroles," as the "Supplication to the American People." Its most striking sentence runs:

"There is something yet more terrible than Cain killing Abel—it is Washington killing Sparticus!"

On Dec. 16, 1859, John Brown was hung.

"There is no probability that the letter sent to President Buchanan arrived before the execution had taken place," says Monsieur Sueur, who shows visitors the Lincoln photograph at the Museum. "It took more than 12 days, then, for a letter to cross the Atlantic. But the first transatlantic cablegram had been sent, the year previous, from Ireland to Newfoundland, and the news of John Brown's hanging was flashed across and published in the papers of Paris and London."

"When Victor Hugo read it he retired to his bedroom, refused food, worked feverishly on one of those rough but powerful pen-and-ink sketches for which he was famous. It showed a desolate gallows, with its victim swinging in a gathering tempest, amid inky clouds, whipping rain and ominous thunderbolts. Above it he wrote: 'For Christ—like Christ!' and below it: 'Ecce, behold!'"

Now here continues the tradition. There is no sign that the Buchanan administration acknowledged the supplication; but Lincoln, inaugurated one year and four months later, is supposed to have come upon the great Frenchman's letter, and with his natural appreciation of genius and his tenderness of heart for all, wrote a courteous letter of reply, from which resulted a heart-to-heart correspondence between the two greatest men of their time. The poet's inspired words, they say, sustained the Great Emancipator's soul when it was heavy with doubts and difficulties; and who knows what might not have been their precious influence to encourage him, finally, in his great decision?

I quote a Frenchman's words in all this.

I am not at liberty to give his name.

It is not Dr. Gustave Simon, literary executor of Victor Hugo and companion of his later years, Dr.

Simon is the son of the illustrious Jules Simon, statesman, philosopher and writer of the early Third Republic; and he still lives in the house in the Place de la Madeleine which his father occupied for 50 years and in front of which his life-sized statue stands.

I have been to see Dr. Simon. He has practically all of Victor Hugo's papers, and is editing the definitive edition of his works, published as a national monument by the French state.

"Where is the correspondence?" I asked Dr. Simon.

"This is not the first time," he answered, "that a question similar to yours has been put to me. So I have made researches, very complete, in the very copious correspondence addressed to Victor Hugo. I have found no trace of the letters of Lincoln to Victor Hugo!"

"Yet—" I interrupted.

"As Victor Hugo preserved with great care all correspondence, even to the most insignificant notes, assuredly he must have precious kept everything, though only a word, of the illustrious Lincoln."

What, then, has become of them?

"I believe that Victor Hugo did not write the words on the photograph," he says emphatically, "and that the illustrious Lincoln himself established the form and manner of the dedication and sent the photograph."

Then he added:

"It is not surprising that I do not find any trace of my correspondence."

In the Victor Hugo Museum itself, there is no trace other than the photograph and dedication. As the Museum was temporarily closed, I wrote to the curator. In reply, I received a letter written in his name, stating the fact.

"Monsieur Gustave Simon is possessor of nearly all the correspondence of Victor Hugo," it added.

I have inquired of the Librarian of Congress.

In reply the manuscript division reports:

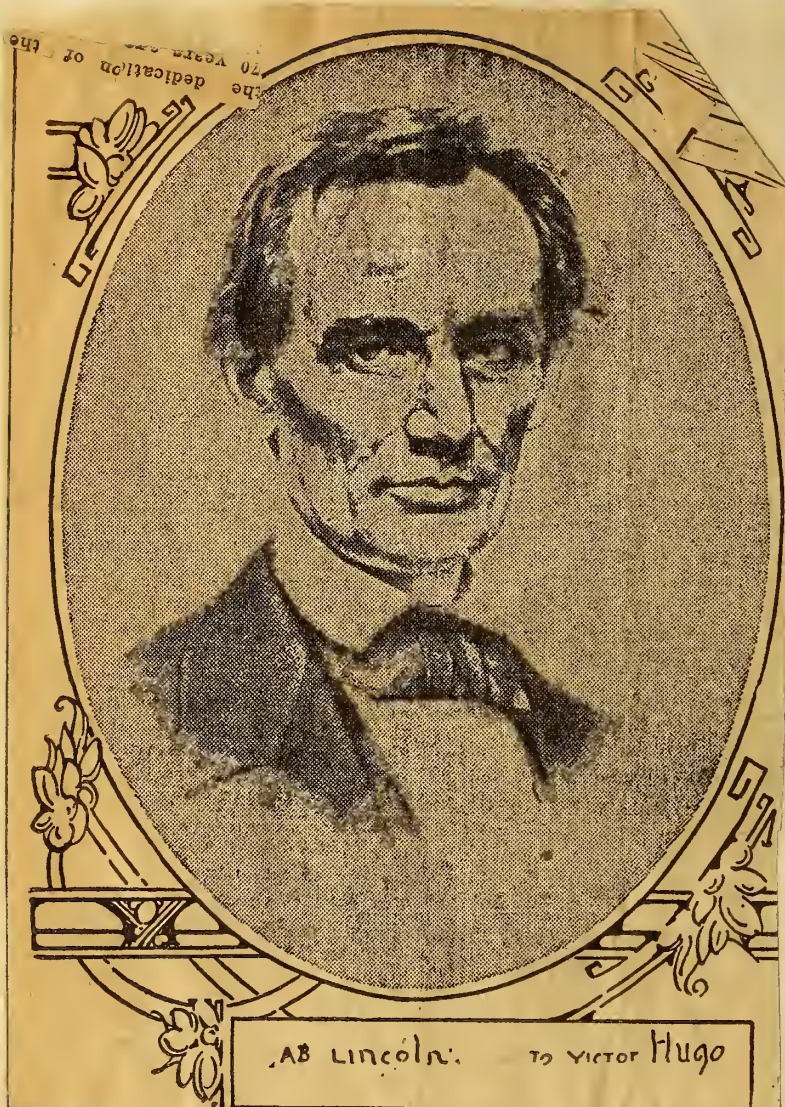
"The library of Congress does not possess, in whole or in part, nor has it any knowledge of, a correspondence between Abraham Lincoln and Victor Hugo. No rumor or claim of such correspondence has come to this division."

But it has no special knowledge of the Buchanan letter either.

"The Buchanan Papers are in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia," continues Mr. Fitzpatrick, the librarian, "and we are unable to say whether the Hugo letter is among them or not. No reference to it is made by John Bassett Moore in his edition of the works of Buchanan."

Nor has the Library of Congress any official list of Lincoln's photographic portraits.

"The War Department may have



The enigma photograph of Lincoln, with the dedication: "Ab. Lincoln to Victor Hugo." Is the negative of this photograph known to collectors?

So the dedication is not an afterthought of some clerk or curator; and, furthermore, so much is Victor Hugo revered, nobody would have taken such a liberty.

Would Victor Hugo have written in the dedication to himself?

"Most certainly not!" exclaims Dr. Gustave Simon.

In effect, it would have been impossible for the poet and man of the world, of exquisite taste, to have imagined "Ab." in a signature for Abraham, or to have written "Lincoln" in small letters and his own name, "Hugo" in capitals!

"On the other hand," says Dr. Simon, "the American President, a man modest among all and who, by intuition, revered the poet, is precisely the one who would have contracted "Abraham" to "Ab." (It was by this diminutive that many called him, did they not?) and who, above all, by a compliment of the heart, would have put his own name 'Lincoln' in small letters and in capitals the name of the world poet to whom he dedicated his own portrait!"

And there you are.

Of the reviving legend of the correspondence, here are two of its extremes as evidence—the Buchanan letter and this photograph. If Lincoln did not make the dedication, who did it? If Lincoln did not send the photograph, how did Hugo get it?

These considerations seem overwhelming.

On the other hand, there is an overwhelming difficulty in the very dedication. I have mentioned it. It stares into one's eyes. I have mentioned it, I say, but not to Dr. Simon or the curator of the museum.

Would Abe Lincoln have signed "Ab."?

Now, would he?

a list from the Brady Collection in its possession; and C. L. Handy, Esq., of Washington, D. C., a nephew of Brady, may have a complete list of the Brady portraits. Mr. Heilig might be referred to F. T. Miller's *Portrait Life of Lincoln* (Springfield, Mass., 1910) which contains photographs from the collection of Edward Eaton."

J. L. Farnum, Secretary of the Librarian of Congress, is courteous, helpful and very much interested to have a look at this enigmatic photograph of Lincoln, bearing a dedication which is certainly his own and yet which cannot be identified by the usual general principles. I have sent him a copy of it, done by the official photographer of the Victor Hugo Museum.

D. E. Roberts, Chief Assistant of the Prints Division, finds no reference to a photographic portrait of Lincoln presented by him to Victor Hugo.

"The search," he reports, "has covered our own collection of Lincoln portraits, Meserve's illustrated catalogue of 100 portraits of Lincoln, the Handy Collection of Lincoln's portraits, and the Standard biographies (illustrated) of Lincoln. Would suggest that the correspondent furnish us with a photograph of the Lincoln portrait on exhibition in the Victor Hugo museum, Place des Vosges, Paris, when we might indicate the original negative."

This has been done, for Mr. Roberts equally; and a print has been sent to Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, whose address in Washington was given me.

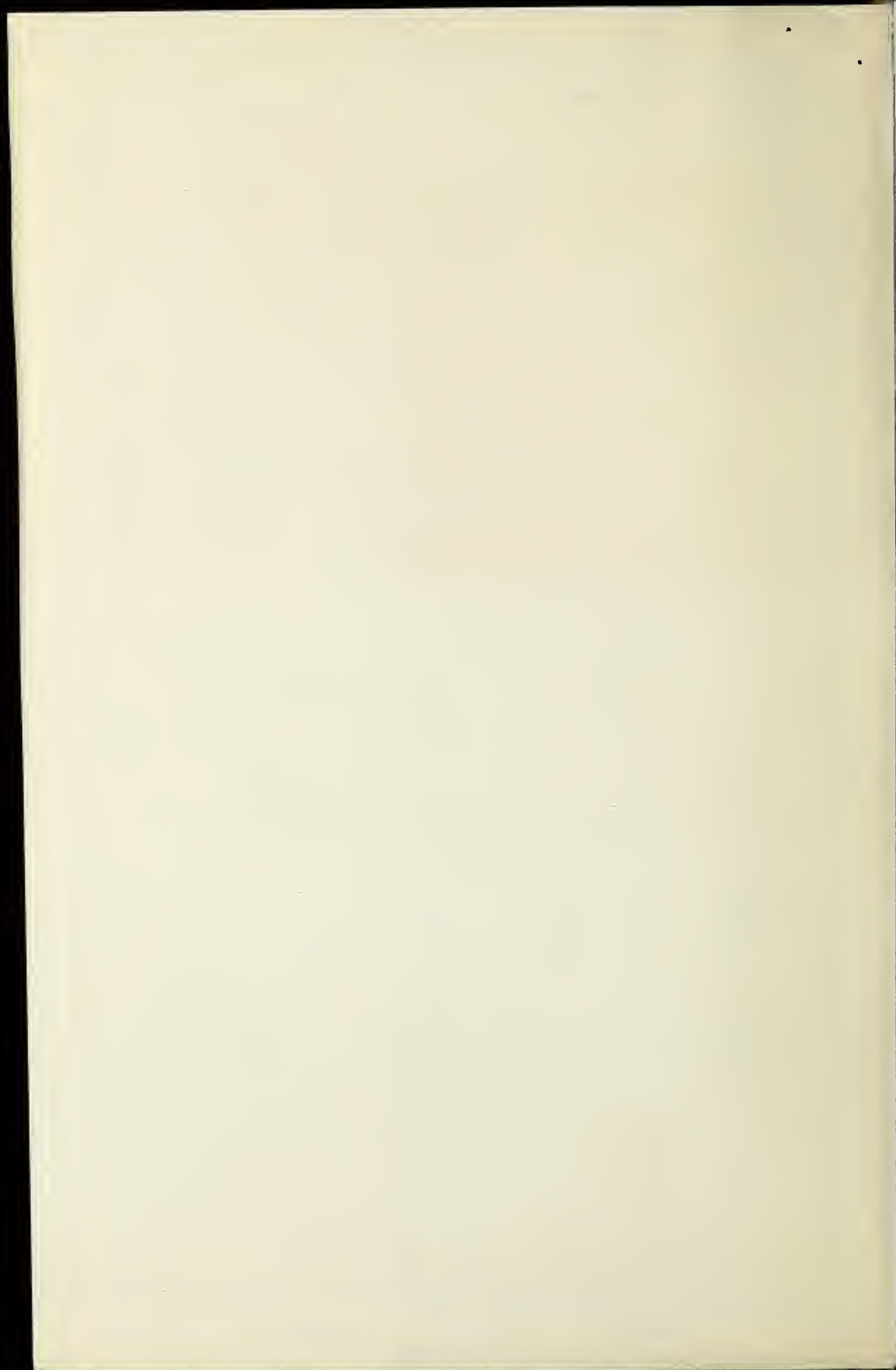
Of course there is more in all this than meets the eye.

A photograph exists, taken in Victor Hugo's lifetime, showing him at work in his dressing gown in his bedroom. On the wall hangs the Lincoln photograph, between Georges Sand and Alexander Dumas; and the dedication: "Ab. Lincoln to Victor Hugo" is visible with a magnifying glass.

AS
ONE
MAN
THINKS



by
Lester
O.
Schriver



A Sublime Parallel

YOU NEED NOT take my word for it that Abraham Lincoln is one of the greatest personalities in all history. A number of years ago, Mr. H. G. Wells, the English historian, who is no sentimentalist but a collector of facts, stated that the six greatest men who ever lived were: Jesus of Nazareth, Buddha, Asoka, Aristotle, Roger Bacon, and Abraham Lincoln.

I take it that Mr. Wells arrived at his conclusion after very careful deliberation. Isn't it significant that this historian, as he stood on the circle of eternity and looked about him to find the six peerless personalities of all time, should have selected this particular group? Not one of them is remembered primarily because he founded an empire, or led an army, or amassed a fortune. But each of these men, separated as they were in time and space, and differing in their heredity and environmental background, will be remembered for time and eternity because the compelling purpose of their lives was service to their fellow men. It is in regard to the startling parallel in the lives of the first and last of these men that I would direct your attention. The points of similarity in the life stories of these two sublime figures are the most striking in history.

Both were humbly but well-born. You do not need very much imagination, as you stand beside the birthplace of Abraham Lin-

coln at Hodgenville, to reconstruct in fancy the conditions under which the Son of Man first saw the light of day.

Both were from sturdy, humble stock, and of wholesome, worth-while parentage. Both were the logical product of their heredity and environment. Fairly recent research has rather definitely put the lie to Herndon's statement that Lincoln sprung from a "stagnant putrid pool." Lincoln was the seventh generation of American Lincolns, and his ancestry goes back to England to a sturdy and honorable line.

Yes, the sad and lonely man from the Sangamon and the sad and lonely man from the Jordan came from as good blood as ran in the veins of any of their contemporaries.

Both originated in insignificant communities. It was said of Jesus, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" It could with equal appropriateness be said of Lincoln, "Can any good thing come out of Hodgenville?" All of which proves that great souls may rise to great heights regardless of the communities which gave them birth.

Even the fathers of both these boys were carpenters. And I am persuaded that their mothers and the circumstances surrounding their boyhoods were strikingly similar. Their educational processes were almost identical. Neither had much formal education but each early matriculated in the university of an ever-expanding world. Both were close students of nature and nature's God. They knew the birds, the trees, the flowers, the fields, the mountains, the forests. Both possessed eager, expanding minds and devoured every scrap of useful information which came their way. It could with equal accuracy be said of each of them, "And he 'increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.'"

Both were awakened to definite, militant purpose and action by the abuses of the day. And under very similar circumstances. Jesus, as a

young man, went into the Temple and found abuses which disturbed him greatly. And he began to cast out them that sold and bought in the Temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves. And he taught them, saying, "Is it not written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of thieves."

Two millennia afterwards, another young man stood in the market place in New Orleans and for the first time in his life saw human beings sold into bitter slavery. He saw families torn apart. He saw slavery in the raw and in its most loathsome aspect. The scene was revolting to him and he said, "If I ever have a chance to hit that thing, I will hit it hard."

Both championed the cause of the downtrodden and unfortunate and bore in their hearts the burdens of others. The man of Nazareth said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden."

Lincoln defended the poor and the imposed-upon. He even assumed the obligations of a weak and unfortunate business partner. And he was the actual liberator of a downtrodden and underprivileged race.

Both were nonconformists. I do not wish to get into a theological discussion. This is not a treatise on theology. It is an attempt to demonstrate a parallel between the lives of two dynamic personalities. When I say both were nonconformists I mean just that. Don't forget that Jesus was never a conformist. His crucifixion was perpetrated by churchmen. He had no intention of founding a new religion. He lived a glorious life among his fellow men, which they have ever since tried to emulate.

Lincoln likewise was a nonconformist. He was not a church member. Churchmen were often against him. But show me a minister who wouldn't be proud to say, "He was a member of

my church." He did say once, "I will join that Church which has as its creed, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself.' " With the mellowing influence of nearly a century, such a creed isn't so bad, is it?

Both were profoundly religious men. Notwithstanding the fact that both were heretics, yet they were profoundly religious. Does it sound like a paradox? It isn't. The followers of Jesus founded a religion in his name. And we date history from the Christian Era. And if you don't think Lincoln was a religious man, read his Farewell Speech at Springfield—and the Second Inaugural. Herndon says he was an infidel, but listen to Lincoln.

"My Friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

Even their gethsemanes were almost identical. The Master of Men prayed all night in the garden. He prayed a prayer of intercession—that is, he prayed for others. That was a terrible night for the Master of Men because the future was fraught with such uncertainty. But was that night so much different from the night about which Carpenter tells us after the first day's battle at Gettysburg? If we can place any credence on what is generally a reliable source, that night after the first day's battle at Gettysburg was the gethsemane of the sad and lonely man from the Sangamon. We are not certain that he spent "all night on his knees"; but we have every reason to suppose that all during the night, when he was not either receiving or sending messages, he was in the attitude of prayer before the throne of grace, asking for guidance and leadership in the hour of the nation's travail.

Yes, these two gethsemanes, separated by nearly two thousand years, were almost identical in the measure of heartache and heart-break which came to these two men who had upon their hearts the burdens of their day.

Both were unjustly persecuted. Both had to contend with disloyalty and betrayal. Jesus had his Pilate and his Judas; Lincoln his McClellan and his Booth.

God raised up both to meet a crisis in the lives of the children of men. Jesus came into a religious crisis to save men from empty formalism. Lincoln was raised up to meet a political crisis involving the bondage of a race and the future of a nation.

Even the utterances of both have become immortal. Above everything else, both these lonely souls knew that the most soul-stirring speeches ever uttered were simple parables told to the plain people, and that the undying illustrations are drawn from daily life.

As long as the symbols of human speech shall be remembered

by man, the Sermon on the Mount and the Gettysburg Address shall stand as models of thought and feeling and devotion to an eternal cause.

To me, the most significant statement ever made about Lincoln's speeches was by Lord Curzon—no mean authority, for he was Viceroy and Governor General of British India, a member of the House of Lords, a member of the British Cabinet, and in 1907, made Chancellor of Oxford University. He is quoted as saying, "The three greatest utterances in the Anglo-Saxon tongue are:

1. Toast of William Pitt after Trafalgar
2. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address
3. Lincoln's Second Inaugural."

Yes, the utterances of these two matchless lovers of mankind will be remembered as long as language is employed to convey human thought.

Both were lovers of children. Perhaps the measure of a man can be more accurately determined by his attitude toward children than in any other fashion. One day some foolish young mothers came to see Jesus—and you know there is nothing more foolish in the world than a young mother, particularly if it is her first child. (Unless, of course, it may be the grandfather on the mother's side.) Yes, they would see Jesus in order that he might admire their children. The disciples were horrified. "Don't you know that the Master is tired, that he has had a busy day, that he has not time for mothers with their babies?" And what did Jesus say? "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." By that act the Master of Men tore a hole in the skies that day and carried childhood to the very throne of God.

Lincoln also loved children. You may remember the story of the little girl at Matamora who lost her dolly in the mud. Lincoln was attending court there. Passing by, he saw the distressed little mother who, to all intents and purposes, had lost her dolly, for she could not retrieve it. At some inconvenience to himself, he rescued the doll and restored it to the little mother. Would one of the leading attorneys of Illinois have done such a thing if he had not loved children? Even Herndon asserts that Lincoln loved children and that he spoiled his own. Whether or not he spoiled them is a matter of conjecture but at any rate it is a well-known fact that he loved them.

Where else would you find the magnanimity possessed by these two souls? The sad and lonely man from Nazareth said, "Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you. Pray for them that spitefully use you and persecute you." Even in his greatest extremity, when he was surrounded by his tormentors who had nailed him to a cross and who had reveled in his death, he cried out, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Not much different, is it, from the words of Lincoln. "With malice toward none; with charity for all . . ." And his magnanimity was perhaps his greatest weapon. At least it was his most effective means of winning men to his cause. Do you recall that Stanton, who at times reviled him, and who sometimes referred to him in most uncomplimentary terms, was finally won by his magnanimous spirit? This same Stanton stood in the Peterson boarding house that night when Lincoln was dying, with the tears running down his face as though his heart would break, and said to those crowded into the room: "There lies the greatest ruler that ever ruled a people. Now he belongs to the ages."

Each triumphed the week before his death. The week before his

death the Son of Man rode into Jerusalem amid the hosannas of the populace. In like manner, only a week before his death, Abraham Lincoln walked into Richmond amid the plaudits of the populace. Indeed, the attitude of the humble folk of the City of Richmond was essentially the same as the attitude of the humble folk of the City of Jerusalem on that first Palm Sunday.

Each foretold his death in a strikingly similar manner. The Master of Men said, "I go up to Jerusalem to be delivered into the hands of sinful men." Lincoln, in a strikingly similar way, foretold his own death only a few days before it occurred. And to carry the amazing parallel to its ultimate consummation, Lincoln passed into his eternal sleep on Good Friday, the day all Christendom observes as the one on which the man of Nazareth surrendered his earthly life.

They lived and died for the healing of the nations. The very life blood of each cemented together the hearts of friend and foe alike. Even the centurion, as he stood under the cross, said, "Surely he was the Son of God." And in those awful days following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, many who had espoused the cause of the Confederacy were desolated by grief, and were heard to say, "He was the best friend the South ever had."

They have eternal life. Perhaps the greatest miracle of all is the manner in which both these magnanimous personalities live in the hearts of their fellow men—for time and eternity.

Two thousand years have not dimmed the matchless personality of the Son of Man. He has become the Rosetta Stone of all our Christocentric Theology. For myriads of people he makes religion and even God intelligible. Isn't it a significant and compelling fact that after two thousand years the most adequate and satisfying concept of God to millions of people is that He is a

Christ-like God; that the ultimate reality back of the universe is friendly—benevolent—kind—fatherly? Indeed, the life of the Son of Man has become the folk songs of generations of sons of men.

Abraham Lincoln, not less rugged and simple than his Judean counterpart, peopled American skies with the noblest ideals, which should be reflected in the life and character of every citizen of our country.

I shall never forget the first time I stood in the tomb of this son of Illinois. I saw among other relics a blood-stained bit of silk worn by one who supported the head of the martyred President while the tide of life ebbed and flowed. And as I gazed upon it, I said sadly, "Abraham Lincoln is dead."

But on reflection I realized that this great man is more alive today than ever, in *the splendid example of his rugged physical strength*. No student of the times of Lincoln will deny that his physical prowess was one of the first considerations that gave him leadership among the young men of his day. Young America will do well to remember the temperate habits and vigorous activities that energized and developed that powerful body, and made it possible for him to be physically a man among men and enable him to bear upon his broad shoulders the great burdens he was called upon to carry.

Gazing again at that delicate bit of blood-washed silk, I felt that Lincoln still lived in *the glorious influence of his absolute honesty*. He lived in an era when men were resorting to every trick and fraud that their ingenuity could devise. This epoch of our national history brought out the most desperate efforts of political wire-pullers on either side; and often men, usually sincere and upright, forgot their integrity and under the dire stress of unusual necessity, counseled compromise and indirection. But Lincoln

stood solid as a rock upon the strong foundation of absolute honesty and from this he could neither be shaken by violence or opposition, nor wooed by the winsomeness of treacherous flattery. He believed a house divided could not stand and he dared, against strong opposition, to express the faith that was in him.

Again it seemed to me that Abraham Lincoln is still alive in *the human sympathy and forgiveness that filled his loving heart*. It was Lincoln, with his "malice toward none; with charity for all," who more than any of his contemporaries displayed the spirit of the man of Nazareth in dealing with the beaten South. High above the surging sea of human passion, his spirit of sympathy and forgiveness hovered like a benediction and until the lengthening shadows wrote the epitaph of his dying day, Abraham Lincoln's great heart yearned for all his countrymen.

Again as my tears fell upon that blood-stained silken fragment, I felt that the greatest of Americans still survives in *his unselfish loyalty to the best interests of his native land*. His patriotism did not consist in noisy declarations of regard for the flag. He knew it is possible to appear to honor the Star Spangled Banner and at the same time dishonor all that it represents. Many a man has shouted at the sight of Old Glory, while recreant to the commonest duties of good citizenship. But this sad and lonely soul from the Sangamon, disdaining the noisy protestations of loyalty common to smaller souls, in the time of his country's danger, stood like a lighthouse upon the rock-bound shore of national destiny and guided the storm-tossed ship of state into the harbor of peace.

And so, because Abraham Lincoln lived and died for a mighty principle, "*this nation under God . . . of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*"





* * *
Lincoln and Lafayette

A COUPLE of weeks ago a Tri-State historian noted an apparent similarity of dates in which Abe Lincoln worked as a hand on the Anderson Ferry (the dividing line between Perry and Spencer Counties) and the time when General Lafayette made his last visit to this country.

The historian drew a picture of Lincoln, then an unknown backwoods youth, standing on the deck of the little creek ferry watching the lights of the steamer, bearing Lafayette and his party, as it passed on its trip downstream.

But Charles E. Baker, editor of The Grandview, Ind., Monitor doesn't entirely agree with this story.

A Lincoln student, he feels that the young Abe would have missed catching a glimpse of General Lafayette by about two years.

Tho history gives no accurate dates for it, the editor believes that Lincoln probably worked on the ferry in 1827 instead of 1825.

* * *

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Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they have lived."

I reaffirm now what Justice Brandeis said then, just as my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, did during his lifetime. I am glad to take my stand along with them as a firm and committed friend and supporter of Israel and its people who are carrying forward the spiritual and ethical teachings of the prophets and the sages.

The interest that American Jews take in the welfare of Israel is legitimate and deep rooted. It reflects a brotherhood based upon a common past of triumph and tribulation and a common future of hope and aspiration for Jews in Israel and Jews in America. As loyal citizens of this great republic, American Jews feel a common and uniting bond with their fellow Jews who have settled in the ancestral home. Accustomed as we are to breathe the free air of American life, we take pride that the air of Israel is also free. American Jews properly recognize that the continuity of their Jewish life which is important to our American pluralistic society is intertwined with the democratic and spiritual redevelopment of Israel. Because American Jews view Israel in the words of a distinguished Rabbi as "religion in action" they are proud to lend and urge support to this democratic State of Israel.

To me, like Justice Brandeis, the true test of an American is this: that he is one who does not conceal but affirms his origin, who is proud of whatever it may be, and who recognizes that in the plurality of American life is our strength and the source of the freedom that we so proudly profess in the world.

The genius of American life is that in this free and tolerant land there is room here for men of any race, religion and ancestry. Our strength is in this diversity of cultures and traditions freely honored and cherished—not in an enforced uniformity. The only uniformity or merger of identity which America has the right to and should expect of its citizens is that politically they are solely American citizens. There is no room at the polls for Protestant-Americans, Catholic-Americans or Jewish-Americans. But there is every need in our national life for the spiritual ideals of both the Old and New Testaments and every room for both the wearing of the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day and the celebration of Columbus Day; for both President Kennedy's and Senator Javrs' sentimental journeys to their ancestral homes.

I conclude by asserting that there is every reason for Americans—Jewish and non-Jewish—to support that great adventure in human freedom, Israel, an adventure which parallels that great adventure in liberty, the United States of America.

SEA LIFT AND SENATOR MAGNUSON

(Mr. HICKS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, at the recent christening of a new type of Navy ship, appropriately named the U.S.S. *Sea Lift*, the President of the United States made two most significant points: First, the importance of the Navy as a crucial part of the defense effort, and second, the continuing interest of both the President and the distinguished senior Senator from the State of Washington, the Honorable WARREN G. MAGNUSON, in maintaining a strong Navy as part of a strong defense system.

This vessel, of the "roll on—roll off" type, was built by Puget Sound Bridge & Drydock Co., of Seattle, Wash., and was christened by the Senator's lovely wife, Jermaine. In a telegram to Mr. James McCurdy, president of the shipbuilding firm, President Lyndon B. Johnson said:

I want to congratulate the company and the men who with their skills will have made this ship possible. She will join the fleet with the blessings of the most gracious of sponsors, my friend, Jermaine Magnuson. Senator MAGNUSON and I served together in the Navy, and on the Naval Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives during World War II. We are both aware of the importance more than ever today of new modern additions to the fleet to keep the Navy a strong arm of our national defense. This is why I, the President, have recommended a substantial naval shipbuilding program in the last and this year's defense budget. Sea lift is just as important as air lift in these times. This is one of the greatest ships of its kind ever built. My best wishes to you all.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

LINCOLN AND LEE

(Mr. MACKAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, we American people are indebted to the scholars who have recorded and evaluated the events which we call the Civil War period of American history.

Prof. Bell Irvin Wiley, professor of history at Emory University and member of the Civil War Centennial Commission, is a native southerner and a resident of the Fourth Congressional District of Georgia. No scholar has contributed more to the literature of Civil War history than this distinguished man.

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Lee's surrender at Appomattox Professor Wiley delivered an address at Emory University in which he assessed Lincoln and Lee. It merits reading by all Members of Congress and indeed all Americans who cherish our rich heritage and the legacy of these two remarkable Americans.

I include the speech, "Lincoln and Lee":

LINCOLN AND LEE

(Speech given by Prof. Bell Irvin Wiley at Emory University, Apr. 9, 1965)

One hundred years ago today Robert E. Lee surrendered the ragged remnants of one of the grandest military organizations of all time, the Army of Northern Virginia, and by that act to all practical purposes brought an end to 4 years of bloody, terrible conflict. The American Civil War as many people have observed was the greatest tragedy in the history of our Nation.

Sometimes in the careers of nations, as in the lives of individuals, tragedy is a prolog to progress. This was true of the great tragedy of the Civil War. That conflict ended slavery. It decided that this land of ours would be one great nation rather than a loose aggregation of separate and competing entities each claiming to be sovereign. The "one nation, under God, indivisible" to which you and I pledge allegiance was forged on the battlefields of the great American conflict of a hundred years ago.

The Civil War also gave us our most cher-

ished heroes, and the most outstanding of these were Lincoln and Lee. As far as I know, they never saw each other. How unfortunate. They would have gotten along well. There would have been mutual respect and esteem. I think it is not an exaggeration to state that Lincoln and Lee were the finest products of the Civil War. Each, during the tragic years that we are now commemorating, achieved outstanding and enduring fame.

Lee, the soldier, is recognized throughout the world as one of the greatest military strategists of all time. Lincoln, the statesman, enjoys even greater renown. On October 25, 1961, Carl Sandburg made a speech in the Library of Congress in which he stated, "One world figure came out of the Civil War. The name of Lincoln went around the world and is now a familiar and beloved name nearly everywhere * * *. More books have been written about Lincoln than about any other character in history except Jesus Christ. Biographies of him are available in more foreign translations than any other character in American history."

Let us take a look at these two remarkable men. First, let us look at their contrasts. In background and early associations they were dissimilar. Lee was an aristocrat. His father was Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry Lee," of Revolutionary fame, and Governor of Virginia, 1792-95. Henry Lee died when Lee was only 11 years of age. Indeed, Robert E. Lee did not see his father after he was 6 years old because Henry Lee went on a Government mission to Barbados and died on the return trip. Interestingly, he was buried on Cumberland Island in Georgia. Lee's mother was Mary Ann Carter, the daughter of Charles Carter, of Shirley Plantation on the James River. The oldtime Virginians referred to the "Cyatah" family on the "James" River. One could have no greater claim to social preeminence among early Virginians than to be a Carter. Robert grew up to be more of a Carter than a Lee. He spent a good deal of time with his cousins at Shirley. Outstanding traits of the Carter family were geniality, devotion to family, and loyalty to community. The Carters were traditionally religious, but none was fanatical. They mixed revealed religion and noblesse oblige in a delightful manner. Their code stressed economy, moderation, courtesy, gentility, honor, and devotion to duty.

Lincoln's parentage, on the other hand, was humble. It is a noteworthy fact that both his father, Thomas Lincoln, and his mother, Nancy Hanks, were Virginians; but like many of their contemporaries they had crossed the Appalachians in the great westward flow of humanity that came in the wake of the Revolution. Thomas Lincoln was not nearly as shiftless and no account as some of the biographers have represented him. He was a respected, honest, amiable man. He got along well with his neighbors, but he had difficulty staying put. He was a chronic mover. Nancy Hanks was probably illegitimate, but she was an honorable, admirable woman. Thomas Lincoln, Abe's father, could not read, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was able to write his name. Nancy Hanks could neither read nor write. When Lincoln was 7 years old, the family moved from Kentucky to Spencer County, Ind., then a vast wilderness, where they lived first in a partially open shelter and then in a crude log cabin. In the second year in Indiana, Nancy Hanks died of what was known as "milk fever," and about a year later Thomas Lincoln stirred himself to go back to Kentucky and persuade a widow, Sarah Bush Johnston, to come to Indiana with him as his wife. This was a very fortunate thing for Abraham Lincoln because Sarah was a dynamic and resourceful woman and a strong bond of affection developed between her and her lanky step-

son. In his later years he often referred to Sarah as "my angel mother."

In schooling these men were markedly different. Lee was educated by private tutors and in Alexandria Academy near Washington. He excelled in Latin and in mathematics. When he was 18, he went to West Point. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1829, second in his class and with no demerits. (Charles Mason, later a distinguished lawyer in Iowa and Washington, D.C., was the top man in the class of 1829.) Lincoln's schooling was sparse and disjointed. He went to one-teacher country schools in Kentucky and Indiana, but in all his life he had less than a year of formal schooling. Yet his letters and his speeches reveal him to be a well-educated man. He educated himself by reading, studying, observing, and reflecting. Among the books that he read as a boy were "Robinson Crusoe," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Aesops Fables," Weems' "Life of Washington," and Grimshaw's "History of the United States." He also pored over the "Revised Laws of Indiana," which shows how hard up he was for reading matter. But this ponderous volume contained such important documents as the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and the American Bill of Rights, all of which Lincoln virtually committed to memory. Another book that he read was the Bible.

In culture and demeanor these two men also stand in notable contrast. Lee was a model of propriety, as evidenced by the fact that he went through 4 years at West Point without getting a demerit, and demerits were very easy to acquire at that time because the rules of the Academy prohibited the possession in the cadets rooms of any cooking utensils, games, novels, romances, or plays. He was remarkably clean in his language and his habits. When Douglas Southall Freeman had completed the research for the monumental, four-volume biography, R. E. Lee, he made a speech before The Southern Society in New York City. In the course of his remarks he stated that in all of the research that he had done for the biography—an investigation extending to literally thousands of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts—he had never found indication of the use by Lee at any time in his life of a single profane or obscene word or phrase. There are not many high ranking military men in all of history about whom such a statement could be made. Indeed, why pick on the army? There have not been many men in any vocation or profession about whom such a statement could be made. Lee was a devout Episcopalian, and he attended church services whenever circumstances would permit.

Lee liked women, especially if they were pretty. He preferred the companionship of attractive women to that of men—which I think reflects favorably on his judgment. On December 7, 1862, he wrote his wife, Mary, "Thank Miss Norvell for her nice cake, but tell her I prefer kisses to cake." He was teasing, of course, because he was absolutely and completely faithful to his wife, Mary. The historical debunkers in their heyday were never able to dig up even a faint suggestion of a scandal involving this truly remarkable man.

But Lee was no prig. Joseph E. Johnston, a classmate of Lee's at West Point, wrote in later years, "He was full of sympathy and kindness, genial, fond of gay conversation and even of fun * * *. No other youth or man so united the qualities that win warm friendship and command high respect." Lee drank only moderately, and then strictly for his health. Some biographers claim that Lee never drank at all, but several years ago in reading the Lee family letters, then in the Library of Congress, I came across a note of General Lee to his wife, Mary, dated May 29, 1864, in which he stated: "I have not been very sick. * * * Do not send any of the whiskey. Some kind gentleman has sent me some

brandy which I am using." Now it is inconceivable that if Lee never drank whiskey he would tell Mrs. Lee not to send him any of that beverage. And in the Richmond City directory for 1869 I found this advertisement: "Steven Mason's—Gen. Robert E. Lee's brand of pure malted rye whiskey put up expressly for family use." Now since Lee was still alive at this time, it seems unlikely that the advertiser would have dared represent the brand thus without Lee's consent.

Lincoln was a product of the frontier. Apparently he never drank; but his language was sometimes unpolished, and he developed a fondness for off-color stories. After he got to the Presidency, he sometimes shocked people like Gideon Welles, who wore a funny little cap, had a beard, looked like a patriarch, and to whom Lincoln humorously referred as "Father Welles," with his frontier anecdotes. Sometimes he also annoyed Edwin Stanton and the Puritanic Salmon Chase with his raw humor. In his schoolboy copy-books appeared these verses:

"Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen.
He will be good, but God knows when.

"Hail Columbia, happy land.

If she ain't broke, well I'll be damned.

Lincoln never joined the church, but he was deeply religious. His wartime letters and speeches indicate that in the toils, burdens, and the anxieties that he bore as President of a divided nation he experienced a genuine spiritual deepening. His wife, Mary Lincoln, said of him, "He never joined the church, but still he was a religious man. But it was a kind of poetry in his nature, and he never was a technical Christian."

In their relations with their associates there were also marked differences between these two men. Few men outside of Lee's family and close circle of friends ever were intimate with him. Dignity and abstemiousness tended to preclude intimate associations; but his was a benevolent nature and his generosity, his courteousness, and his graciousness commanded the respect and the admiration of all those who knew him. Lincoln was thoroughly approachable, easy, informal, genial, sympathetic. One of his greatest attributes as President was his ability to identify himself and the cause that he led with the interests and the aspirations of the great masses of the people, both at home and abroad. He instilled in the common folk a feeling of closeness to him. He never forgot that his own origins were lowly, and in his manner and outlook he always remained one with the people from whom he sprang. The common soldiers on the Union side in their letters frequently referred to him as "Uncle Abe," "Father Abraham," and "Old Abe." These were not terms of disparagement but rather of genuine affection born of a kinship of interests and ideals.

In their administrative methods the Virginian and the frontiersman were also very different. Lee was a model of orderliness and precision. Lincoln on the other hand was informal, easygoing, and unsystematic in his administrative procedures. His law office in Springfield was a shambles; books were piled all around on the floor. His desk was stacked high with papers, a fact in which I find much personal comfort. In his office was one large bundle of papers, tied with a string, containing this notation: "If you can't find it anywhere else, look in here." I think Prof. David Donald goes a little too far when he characterizes Lincoln as "an amiable bungler," but there can be no doubt that the President's conduct of his office had a certain loose-jointed quality which violated the best principles of administration.

It is perhaps in their loyalties that these two men stand in greatest contrast. Lincoln, a product of the frontier, appreciated the benefits and blessings of the Union. He realized the need of national authority and

national means for building roads, canals, railroads, opening up the West, and providing schools, homesteads, and protection from the Indians. Growing up in this atmosphere he developed a deep attachment and loyalty to the Nation.

Lee on the other hand was the product of a locality and an authority that was two and a half centuries older than the Union. His first loyalty was to Virginia. As the inter-sectional crisis approached in 1860-61, he condemned the extremists who were threatening the permanency of the Union. But when the break came and he had to choose between Virginia and the Nation, he chose Virginia. Douglas S. Freeman says that this was the choice he was born to make. There can be no doubt of Lee's sincerity. As we ponder during the Civil War Centennial the events that led to secession and war, cognizance should be taken of the fact that a man as sincere, as admirable, as unselfish and as honorable as Lee could prefer the State—his State—over the Nation. It is not fair to judge Lee on the basis of our own 20th century ideas concerning the Union, for his ideas about the relative position of the Nation and the States—ideas deriving largely from his background, experiences, and associations—were quite different from those of present-day Americans, reared in an intellectual atmosphere vastly different from that of a hundred years ago.

Now, let us turn to the similarities of Lincoln and Lee, and these far outweigh the differences. They were very similar in goodness and in character. Lee had seven children—three sons and four daughters. The sons were Custis; William Henry Fitzhugh, known as "Rooney" to distinguish him from his cousin, Fitzhugh Lee; and Bob, the youngest. The four daughters were Mary, Agnes, Annie, and Mildred. Interestingly, none of these daughters married. Interestingly, too, is the fact that Custis and Rooney both became major generals in the Confederate Army, as did their cousin, Fitzhugh. Lee's relations with his children were marked by much tenderness and affection. Before the war when the girls were little, Lee liked to come home in the afternoon, remove his military boots, take a comfortable position in a soft chair, put his feet on an ottoman, and have his young daughters tickle his feet while he told them stories. He was a gifted raconteur, and sometimes the little girls would become so absorbed in the story that they would forget to tickle. Then the father would look up and with a smile on his face say, "no tickle—no story"; whereupon, they would resume the tickling, and he would resume the story.

Lincoln had four children, all boys. Eddie, the eldest, born in 1844, died in 1850. When the war came, Robert was 18; Willie, 11; and Tad, 8. Lincoln was devoted to his boys. Once during the war when Tad and Willie were playing soldiers with a doll whom they named Jack, they decided that Jack had been guilty of the terrible offense of going to sleep on picket. They held a quick court-martial and sentenced him to be shot. They were about to carry out the execution in their play when the White House gardener suggested that the President might pardon the offender. Lincoln fell in readily with the scheme and sent a note on White House stationery, stating: "The doll Jack is pardoned by order of the President, A. Lincoln."

Both Lincoln and Lee lost a child during the war. Agnes Lee died in 1862 at 23. Lee's letters reveal what a great tragedy this was in his life. Willie Lincoln died the same year. He was Lincoln's favorite son, the light of his life. Relationships between the two were very close. Just after the boy died, Lincoln came down the stairs in the White House to his secretary's office and chokingly said, "Well, Nicolay, my boy is gone—he is actually gone." Then the President burst

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into tears, went into his own office, shut the door, and remained for a while in seclusion.

Both men loved animals. During Lincoln's Presidency the White House was a menagerie of kittens, goats, and rabbits; and in the yard there were ponies. The family dog sometimes sat in the President's lap at meal-times, and Lincoln fondled the animal while he ate. Lee loved cats. On June 29, 1861, after the Federals had driven the Lees from the family home at Arlington, Lee wrote his wife, "I saw a beautiful cat the other evening that reminded me of Tom. The latter no doubt lords it in a high manner over the British at Arlington. He will have some strange things to tell when you next see him." (An interesting characteristic of Lee was that he rarely referred to his opponents as the Federals or the Yankees. He called them "those people," but in this letter to Mary he characterizes them as "the British," which I suppose he meant to be a compliment.)

Both were good husbands. Lee was the soul of tenderness in dealing with his wife, Mary, who during the war and afterwards was severely afflicted with arthritis. He consulted her on all important decisions. He wrote her frequently even during the most strenuous campaigns of the war, and his letters fairly glowed with affection. On a dark November day in 1864 he wrote from camp near Petersburg to his youngest daughter, Mildred (he sometimes addressed her as "My dearest Life"), "Give a great deal of love to dear, dear Mother and kiss your sisters for me. Tell them they must keep well, not talk too much and go to bed early." Recall the circumstances: Mrs. Lee was ill; Lee himself was already showing indications of the heart malady that 5 years after the war was to take his life; his soldiers were ragged and hungry, deserting by the scores because of the troubled letters that they were receiving from their families telling them that they were suffering greatly at home. The mantle of defeat was settling over the beleaguered Confederacy. Yet in this dark situation Lee could write his daughters, "Keep well, don't talk too much, and go to bed early."

Lincoln's relations with his Mary were not always smooth. Mrs. Lincoln was nervous, high-strung, and she sometimes lashed out at him. The war was a difficult period in her life. But these outbursts were not always without provocation. Lincoln was absent-minded and careless about little things around the house. A product of the frontier he never became completely housebroken. One Sunday he was pulling his two little boys along in a wagon. His mind was absorbed in matters far, far removed. A neighbor came up to him and nudged him. Lincoln looked around, and one of the children had fallen out of the wagon. If Mrs. Lincoln happened to be looking out the window and observed this, we can understand that she might become a little upset. Despite the differences between Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln, she made him an excellent wife. She came from a cultured background—she was of the Todd family of Lexington, Ky. Lincoln and his Mary complemented each other in a very splendid way. She was able to polish some of the rough edges that remained from his frontier upbringing and prepare him for polite society. In dealing with this tense and anxious spouse, Lincoln was the soul of understanding, consideration, and respect. There can be no doubt that they had a very deep affection for each other and that theirs was a good marriage.

Lincoln and Lee were both generous and tolerant. They did not utterly condemn people who failed to come up to their own high standards and attainments. During the war a report came to General Lee that his good friend, a former Governor of Virginia, Gen. Henry A. Wise, had cursed an intruder out of camp. Lee called Wise to his tent and began to reprove him for this unseemly con-

duct and violation of army regulations. Wise, who was one of the very few men who dared speak his full mind to General Lee, interrupted and said, "General Lee * * * your whole life is a constant reproach to me. Now I am perfectly willing that Jackson and yourself shall do the praying for the whole army * * * but in heaven's name let me do the cussin' for one small brigade." Lee smiled and said, "General Wise, you are incorrigible," and let the matter drop.

Neither Lincoln nor Lee was the sort of person to harbor enmities. During the war one of Lincoln's young friends, J. Madison Cutts, became involved in a serious controversy. Lincoln wrote him: "Quarrel not at all. No man resolved to make the most of himself can spare time for personal contention." What better advice could be given a young man! In my younger days I was sometimes involved in quarrels. I can't think of anything that I ever gained by quarreling, and I do know that I lost much, of equanimity, of self-respect, and of the objectives for which I was contending. Lincoln himself followed the rule that he prescribed for J. Madison Cutts, and in not harboring enmities and in not fighting back at his critics is to be found one of his best claims to greatness. After the war a faculty member at Washington College (later Washington and Lee) spoke disparagingly of General Grant in the presence of Robert E. Lee, then president of the institution. Lee immediately said, "Sir, if you presume ever again to speak disrespectfully of General Grant in my presence, either you or I will sever his relations with this institution." And he meant it. Both were abundantly blessed with tact. Lee was able always to get along with the most rampant individuals nurtured by the plantation system, the hypersensitive prima donnas who held high place in the Confederacy, among them Jefferson Davis, Joseph E. Johnston, and Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. Lee got along with the Confederate Cabinet. He got along with Congress. Lee "quarreled not at all."

Lincoln was able to get along with and use for the cause of the Union the talents of people who were personally distasteful to him—people who were opinionated and who thought that they were better qualified to head the Nation than he. One of these was William Seward, the Secretary of State, who on April 1, 1861, wrote Lincoln a letter which the late Prof. James G. Randall called "Seward's Fools' Day Aberration." In this letter Seward said in effect: "I know you are not very well qualified to run the country, Mr. President. I am a man of much experience. I am able and willing to bear this responsibility." Seward went on to suggest for himself something approximating the position of prime minister. But Lincoln overlooked Seward's incredible presumptiveness and kept him on in the Cabinet because he felt that he was the man best fitted for the position of Secretary of State. Lincoln got along with Chase. Chase was an opinionated, self-righteous man. He was exceedingly ambitious, and he worked behind Lincoln's back in a cunning, deceitful, unadmirable way to try to obtain the Presidency. Lincoln thought Chase was the man best qualified to be Secretary of Treasury, and he put up with him, though watching him, until the summer of 1864 when he finally had to let him go. But instead of being vengeful or spiteful, he appointed Chase Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Lincoln got along with Stanton who also was very difficult; but when Lincoln was forced to get rid of Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War, he felt that he should appoint as successor the person best qualified for the position; and on that basis he chose Stanton even though this man had once snubbed him in a law suit. Neither Lincoln nor Lee personalized opposition, a fatal mistake for anyone in high administrative position, because

genius and ability sometimes come wrapped in strange packages.

Another similarity between these two men was their devotion to duty. Duty, particularly to the Union, was an obsession with Lincoln during his critical days in the White House. Many times late at night he walked the floor in his carpet slippers pondering the problems of the imperiled Nation. And he walked alone, bearing on his stooped shoulders the enormous burdens of the world's most difficult position.

Duty was the guiding rule of Lee's life. On one occasion he stated, "There is a true glory and a true honor, the glory of duty done and the honor of integrity of principle."

Both demonstrated exceptional capacity for growth, and this is one of the most critical factors in greatness. At the beginning of the war Lee had the reputation of being a model officer, but he had never led troops in combat. As a staff officer in the Mexican War he had acquitted himself gallantly, but he did not command troops. In peace time, the largest unit that he had led was a regiment. In his first campaign of the Civil War, in western Virginia, he made a poor showing; and his direction of the Seven Days Battle, when he was first in command of the Army of Northern Virginia, left much to be desired. But Lee grew rapidly as an army commander, and he profited enormously by his mistakes. By the end of 1862 he had established a solid reputation, and before the end came at Appomattox he had made a record that places him among first ranks of great military leaders of all time.

Lincoln was hardly more than an ordinary politician at the beginning of the war, but under the trials and responsibilities of the Presidency he grew tremendously. And in the face of enormous obstacles he achieved a stature that is so awesome that many people regard him as the greatest of all Americans.

Finally they were both leaders of enduring influence. Lincoln's reputation increases with the passing of time. Throughout the world today he stands as the personification of American democratic idealism and a symbol of hope for the oppressed, even behind the Iron Curtain. Lee's finest hour came after Appomattox. To General Beauregard he wrote late in 1865: "I am glad to see no indication in your letter of an intention to leave the country. I think the South requires the aid of her sons now more than at any period of her history. I have no thought of abandoning her unless compelled to do so." To Gen. Jubal Early and other comrades who fled the country to escape Yankee rule he wrote in effect: "Come back to the South. Here is where you are needed. Use your labor and your influence to make of your native region a happy and a prosperous land." Lee set an example for those to whom he gave this advice. With considerable hesitation, deriving from his modesty, he accepted the presidency of a struggling little college at Lexington, Va., at a salary of \$1,500 a year; and he devoted his remaining 5 years to the task of preparing young Virginians to get a new start. Lee, the champion of the Old South, became the first citizen of the New South; and Lee, the Virginian, became Lee, the American.

I am often asked the question, especially when I point out the shortcomings of Jefferson Davis as Confederate President, who would have made a better President? Invariably, and without any equivocation, I state "Robert E. Lee," because there was no man in high position, either in the military or in civilian life, who demonstrated as much of true greatness or statesmanship as did Robert E. Lee. It was a good thing for the future of this Nation that Lee was not the chief executive of the Confederate States of America, and it was fortunate for the Union that it had as its chief a man with the per-

sonality, the vision, and the greatness of Abraham Lincoln—a peoples' President in a peoples' war. Lincoln and the people, bound to each other by mutual ties of affection and respect, were an unbeatable combination. Now, 100 years after America's greatest crisis, as we observe the centennial of Appomattox, it is fitting that northerners and southerners should unite, as we do here at Emory University tonight, in paying tribute to these great men, and that we honor them as Americans each richly endowed with the qualities that have brought enduring greatness to the land of the free and the home of the brave.

SEIZURE OF FIRST-CLASS MAIL

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, today, I have introduced a bill, the objective of which is to end the invidious practice of seizing first-class mail under an "arrangement" that has existed between the Post Office and Treasury Departments since 1962.

My colleagues will recall that I first disclosed this violation of the privacy of first-class mail on the floor of the House on April 5, 1965, and at that time offered an amendment to the pending appropriation bill, which would have limited use of funds for such seizures, for a 1-year period. Unfortunately only a few Members were on the floor at that time and the amendment was rejected because many of those present were unwilling to believe that such seizures were taking place and lack of due process. Subsequently, the charges I made on the floor were fully confirmed when the other body's Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, reopened its hearings as a result of these disclosures.

Replying to my charge, the Chief Postal Inspector admitted that there were improprieties, but officials, nevertheless, maintained that they had authority to seize undelivered mail, under the Internal Revenue Code.

I do not agree that any such authority exists, especially when it is specifically prohibited by the Postal Code, and by the protection of the 4th amendment. However, since two Cabinet officers continue to insist that they have the authority to do so, and since this alleged authority has never been tested in the courts, I am submitting a bill to specifically add mail to those items listed in title 26, United States Code, section 6334(a), as excluded from tax levies.

I hope other members of the House will join in this effort, and that the House will soon have an opportunity to insure the true and sanctified privacy of first-class mail.

PREMIER ALDO MORO—COURAGEOUS STATESMAN

(Mr. ANNUNZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, April 20, I had the pleasure of meeting at the White House with Pre-

mier Aldo Moro of Italy. On this occasion, President Johnson paid tribute to the head of the Italian Government in recognition of his support of American foreign policy in Vietnam.

Aldo Moro is 48 years old, a relatively young man to be holding such a responsible position in his country. He is a humble man, yet he possesses the rare qualities that are found in all great statesmen. In Italy, Premier Moro faces, day in and day out, the ruthless pressures exerted by the most powerful Communist minority in Europe. His political career hangs always in the balance. It would be the easier course to give into these pressures. Yet, again and again, he has stood his ground courageously and remained true to his ideals. He has demonstrated to the world how a man in public office, entrusted with grave responsibilities, should discharge his duties, with strength, bravery, manliness and self-respect. Indeed, he has set an example for all to emulate.

It is my pleasure to insert into the RECORD an article about Premier Moro that appeared in the Chicago Daily News written by the columnist William S. White. The article follows:

ITALY'S PREMIER—A MAN OF STAMINA (By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—Premier Aldo Moro of Italy leaves three things behind in the afterglow of his mutually warm—and mutually adult—conversations with President Johnson.

He has given to the timorous in this and other countries—men who would respond with elegant wordy words to the steel of a Communist invading force which has open contempt for any kind of "negotiation" until it has finished swallowing up South Vietnam—an exhibition of strength and courage.

He has given to many Americans and to others abroad—to men who gamble with the very security of the free world, sometimes out of mere petty piques at a strong American Government—a lesson in how grown men in high responsibility should behave in a world of danger and duty.

He has given to all an example of simple manliness and of a perfectly self-respecting but decent gratitude toward an ally—the United States of America—which for so little thanks generally has done so much for his country and so many others.

When one wearies of seeing the United States kicked by some of its allies for carrying a free-world load it never sought but which elementary honor and obligation compel it to carry, it will be heartening to look back upon the visit here of Aldo Moro of Italy.

For he came not to carp at the leadership—this leadership which no other nation is able or willing to assume—but only to ask for more of it.

He came—this Aldo Moro, who in his own country faces day and night the most powerful Communist minority in all Europe—not to hedge before the demands of Communists, in Asia or elsewhere. He came to stand up against them abroad, as so bravely he has stood up against them in Italy, for the values of Western society and for the ultimate safety of world order.

If any politician on earth could find an easy excuse to trim toward the Communists, it would surely be this tired, dauntless Italian. But far from doing this, in Washington he stood like a Gibraltar with our Government in Vietnam.

He is a curious man, this Moro. For in his old-fashioned way he does not understand why some politicians here, to whom

"communism" is only a word, are too frightened to deal realistically in Asia with a naked Communist aggression which they are so tirelessly excusing. To excuse it, they appeal to the last refuge of the appeaser—the claim that he alone values peace. But Moro appeals to the terrible realities of history in rejecting soft surrender; under some other name it is still not a rose but only a thorn of blood.

The word "negotiation" he never mentioned without qualifying it with the profound and powerful word "honorable." In his simplicity, he believes only in honorable negotiations. He believes also that no cease-fire should be left for its enforcement solely to the promises of aggressors who broke every previous promise in Southeast Asia, not 10 but a hundred times.

So he gave no comfort to those here and abroad who argue the singular theory that the United States is at fault for an "escalation" of a war it never started, because it will not stop bombing aggressors who say flatly and in advance that they will not stop aggressing in South Vietnam. He cannot see how a halt to American defensive action, in the absence of even any interruption of Communist attacks, could serve any cause—except the cause of more aggression.

Even at the risk of being called a "warmonger" in a leftist-plagued Italian coalition where his own political life hangs endlessly in the balance, he does not believe that to dishonor the solemn defensive commitments of three successive American Presidents would be either an act of statesmanship or an act becoming to men who have the hard duty to be men.

An odd fellow altogether, this Signor Moro, is he not?

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

(Mr. MULTER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter on Israel's Independence Day.)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, May 7 marks the 17th anniversary of the independence of that little but great bastion of democracy in the Middle East, the State of Israel.

Proper observance of the anniversary is being taken all this week throughout our country and the free world.

Last night it was my privilege to attend the dinner which concluded the conference in Washington of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee. We heard a splendid address by Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg. I know of no better way of taking note of Israel's independence anniversary than to share with our colleagues Justice Goldberg's very fine remarks which follow:

ADDRESS BY ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AT A DINNER SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE INTERNATIONAL INN, WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am glad to join in the 17th anniversary celebration of Israel's independence. Americans of whatever national origin, race or religion have a deep and abiding interest in this young and vigorous democratic state.

The United States was the first country in the world to recognize Israel as an independent nation in 1948 and was its principal sponsor for admission to the United Nations. Presidents dating back to John Adams have shared the messianic expectation for the restoration of the people of Israel to the land of Israel. The Balfour

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RESOLUTION PROTESTING THE PROPOSED DISCONTINUANCE OF PASSENGER SERVICE ON THE NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN & HARTFORD RAILROAD

Whereas the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad is the only direct means of public transportation between Port Chester and Grand Central Terminal in New York City; and

Whereas approximately 1,100 residents of the village of Port Chester use said railroad daily for the purpose of transportation from Port Chester to their respective places of business in New York City; and

Whereas many residents of the village of Port Chester purchased homes in Port Chester relying on the public transportation furnished by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co.; and

Whereas the discontinuance of the passenger service would have an adverse effect on real property values in the village of Port Chester due to the fact that many of the residents who use the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad would be forced to vacate their residences; and

Whereas the discontinuance of the railroad would increase the vehicular traffic in the already overcongested traffic in the city of New York; and

Whereas the public convenience and necessity requires the continuance of the passenger service; and

Whereas the States of Connecticut and New York and Federal Government are seeking ways and means to subsidize and assist the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad in its present financial plight; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this board of trustees opposes the application of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad to discontinue passenger service as of March 29, 1965, and requests permission to intervene and send its representatives to hearings to be held on this matter before the Interstate Commerce Commission; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Interstate Commerce Commission at its office at Washington, D.C., to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, and to the representatives in the New York State Legislature, to Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, and to Congressman OGDEN R. REID; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution shall take effect immediately.

RESOLUTION BY ORANGE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FAVORING THE CREATION OF AN INTERSTATE AGENCY OR AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE COMMUTER SERVICE IN THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA

Whereas the continuance of commuter service in the New York metropolitan area is threatened because of the financial condition of some of the common carriers which now provide the same; and

Whereas the discontinuance of such commuter service would result in economic loss throughout the entire metropolitan area: Be it

Resolved, That this board hereby favors the creation of an interstate agency or authority to provide commuter service in the New York metropolitan area, including the county of Orange; and further

Resolved, That the clerk of this board send copies of this resolution forthwith to the Governor of the State of New York, to the legislators representing the county of Orange in the U.S. Congress, and the New York State Legislature.

Attest:

LESTER J. ROOSA.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS SINCE THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on April 15, 25 persons gathered in the

room in the Peterson House in Washington, D.C., just across the street from Ford Theater, where President Abraham Lincoln died at 7:22 a.m., 100 years ago, to commemorate the centennial of that tragic day.

This program was sponsored by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, and the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, moderated the proceedings. Some remarks were made by myself at that occasion, and the Chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, delivered a prayer which ended at exactly 7:22, the time of Lincoln's death 100 years ago. Concluding remarks for this commemoration were delivered at exactly 7:22 a.m. April 15, 1965, by my distinguished colleague, Senator MILTON YOUNG, of North Dakota, while a bugler softly sounded taps in a garden below.

Because of the profound importance which this occasion holds for every American, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Senator YOUNG, the prayer of Dr. Harris, as well as my remarks, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAYER BY DR. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, CHAPLAIN, U.S. SENATE, ANNIVERSARY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S DEATH, APRIL 15, 1965

God of the living and the living dead, reverently we bow, this historic morning hour, within the walls of this sacred room to which a century ago this day there was tenderly carried the broken body of the greatest captain of his time—Thy servant, Abraham Lincoln, struck down in the hour of triumph for the cause to which he gave to the utmost his dedicated powers.

As the sands of a hundred years run out, we come to relive the stunned grief of that anxious night vigil, kept at this very spot, as swift to its close ebbed out the brief day of one destined to belong to the ages.

Here where we stand in this tiny room was forever sealed the lips which had uttered winged words glorifying the language spoken by the greatest masters of speech; here fell lifeless the hands which had held the pen recording his solitary decision to erase the darkest blot on our national escutcheon. From this room, across the Union he had saved, amid a pageant of poignant sorrow there was borne the lifeless form of this big brotherly giant to the State which had given him to the divided States in the time of their embattled crisis.

And now that 10 decades have gone since here he laid his burdens down, looking back to those old, unhappy, far-off days, and battles long ago, we lift our Te Deum that Thou didst raise up such a man so full of wisdom and goodness and truth. We are all his debtors that with such undaunted dedication he laid strong hold upon the great purpose and passion which burned like fire in his bones, and for the calm determination with which he followed the gleam of the perpetuity of the Union, and the final shattering of that sum of all villains—human slavery.

In what seemed to be a most earthen vessel Thou didst reveal the majesty of those simple virtues and values which all mankind honors and admires as they were mirrored in the sublime independence of this man of the people. We recognize that facing every vexing question, always he bowed in silent humility, listening for the command of a higher voice, and that his fundamental belief was rooted in the supremacy of spiritual verities under God.

As today we watch him die, we are thankful in the perspective of a hundred years

that still we see him live. We behold a lonely man, as he fed his compassion on solitude. We see a sad man hiding his bitterness in laughter as in recurring defeats outward merriment muffled the murmur of a bleeding heart. We see a patient man endure his little day of chance power with no personal exaltation of spirit. Bending his shoulders to the woes of the weak we see one simple child maligned, misrepresented, ridiculed, harboring no resentment or disdain, opened not his mouth.

In this sacramental hour, hemmed in by these walls which a century ago, this morning hour, looked upon his death as his was commended to Thy hand, we behold him as he loomed before men when he finished the work Thou didst give him to do, and we salute him now as he was saluted then—

"Standing like a tower

The generations shall behold his fame
The kindly, earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame—

The first American!"

As in this crucial day of destiny we fashion the image of America for the world, God help us to be worthy of Lincoln. May our ruling passion be even as his—union and emancipation—and the deathless belief that this earth cannot remain half slave and half free.

We ask it in the Name which was for him, and is for us, above every name. Amen.

REMARKS BY SENATOR YARBOROUGH

A century ago this morning, here in this small room on this short bed, a tall giant of a man lay dying. The young river boatman who had watched slaves auctioned in New Orleans, had lived to sign the Emancipation Proclamation. The frontier boy who had learned to write by the light of a wood fire, grew up to pen the immortal Gettysburg Address.

Just as there was a small group of his countrymen in this tiny room 100 years ago, living the agony of their mortally wounded President, so we few are here this morning on the centennial of President Abraham Lincoln's tragic death, almost foretold by him in the presidential campaign of 1860, when he wrote to a friend:

"I know there is a God and I know He hates injustice. I see the storm coming, and I see His hand in it. But if He has a place and a part for me, I believe I am ready."

He was ready, and we are here not so much to mourn a departed life, as to testify to the constant presence of the spirit of Lincoln in our Nation through his words, actions, ideas, and beliefs. Lincoln's life continues to reflect in our society, just as the light from distant stars shines on this earth centuries after those stars have died.

His message to Congress July 4, 1861, defined the struggle that America carries on then and now, when he wrote:

"To elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuit—to afford all, an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race for life—this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend."

Little more than a month before his death, in his second inaugural address in March 1865, President Lincoln foresaw the tasks that would occupy this Nation for years to come, and he voiced them:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish, a just and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations."

The strength of this man who split 10,000 rails still lives in the strength of his ideals, his tall stature was transferred to the greatness of his goals, even the size of his massive

hand is reflected in his grasp of the meaning and future of this Nation.

In the century since his death, Lincoln's life casts an ever-increasing glow over this Nation, for beginning with his signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, "liberty for all" has progressed.

Lincoln and liberty have become synonymous; his words and his ideals bless the freedom he cherished. The example of Lincoln has become the example of this country; his words have become our creed, and his fight for liberty and a just and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations, goes on today.

Let us carry it on in the true spirit of Lincoln, with malice toward none, with charity for all, and let us bind up our Nation's wounds.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF SENATOR MILTON YOUNG

Almost 100 years ago to this moment a hush of silence fell over this room and the people gathered here. Death had come to Abraham Lincoln. Let us bow our heads in silence to commemorate that tragic time. (Pause.) That silence of 100 years was broken by these words, "Now he belongs to the ages."

THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the 89th Congress is closing out the 4th month of its first session. These 4 months have been distinguished by the most extraordinary legislative accomplishments in many years.

Neither circumstances nor accident explain these accomplishments. This record of achievement is the result of energetic congressional activity and the indispensable catalyst—leadership.

President Johnson has provided this leadership. He has proposed a far-reaching attack on the many problems which still plague our society. But he has done more than that. He has helped to create a climate in the executive and legislative branches and across the Nation—a climate of a readiness, a will to get on with the job so well begun by Democratic predecessors since Franklin Roosevelt.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Sacramento Bee of April 15, 1965, which pays appropriate tribute to the President's leadership be printed at this point in the RECORD; and I also ask unanimous consent that a column entitled "Modern Miracles," by the distinguished writer Thomas O'Neill that recently appeared in the Baltimore Sun be also printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article and column were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee, Apr. 15, 1965]

JOHNSON IS MORE THAN CARETAKER PRESIDENT

The skill of Lyndon B. Johnson as an architect of legislation is obscured for the moment by war and rumors of war but a quiet examination reveals things are going pretty much the way he wants them in Congress.

As a matter of fact no President, with the possible exception of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, ever asked for more significant domestic legislation out of Congress in a peacetime year, if this can be called a time of peace.

Consider for a moment the scope of Johnson's Great Society.

He is asking for medical care for the aged, tied to social security, and even the program's harshest critics acknowledge he will get it. He asked for a federally financed program for the public schools and he got it. He has urged broad-scaled assaults on poverty and he is getting it. He has proposed drastic reforms in the Nation's international monetary policy to plug up the siphoning of U.S. gold reserves and he already has Congress OK in part.

He is urging a revised farm support program. He has proposed what amounts to a Federal subsidy for the arts. He wants interstate guns by mail sharply curbed. He has asked for expanded urban renewal programs. He has advocated a cleanup and beautification program for America to erase some of the ugliness which has crept into the city and rural scenes. He has suggested significant reforms in the immigration program.

He wants a broad-scaled assault, and now, on heart disease and cancer, this in the name of public health. He is recommending programs to make homeownership even easier. He wants so-called right-to-work statutes nullified in the States. He has asked for legislation to reform Presidential succession statutes.

And this makes no mention of his urgings for programs to end pollution of the air and streams, to buy wilderness lands and reserve them for the people lest all be lost to exploitation, to make the ballot box a thing of true equal opportunity, regardless of race or creed or color; etc. and etc.

The test of any leader is how he leads. The President will not get all he asks for. But no one will be able to say of Lyndon B. Johnson that he was just a caretaker President.

The fantastic commentary his record inspires is that he has been so successful with Congress he makes headlines only when he fails.

MODERN MIRACLES (By Thomas O'Neill)

President Johnson's first hundred days in harness with his own Congress was a heady time when to ask was to receive. Old inhabitants of Capitol Hill rub their eyes.

Legislation that was dog eared from years of being shuffled into pigeonholes turned crisp and live and sped to an enactment that had long been put down as impossible. Medicare is an example, and only one example. An eager Congress beamed up administration bills beyond the point so astute a pulsetaker as the President had felt it prudent to ask as recently as January. Everything came up roses.

Nor is there any sign that the White House is ready to rest on the record of accomplishment during the telltale hundred days.

Instead, a full and active summer is ahead. Early talk of a July adjournment is dead. Some now anticipate a Labor Day ending, but there are hunch bettors ready to predict snow flying over a Congress still in session come October. It is their reasoning that Lyndon Johnson is no man to turn loose of a good thing and that he will stoke Congress as long as it remains productive, all to the end of being remembered as a President who got done the things that needed doing.

He could properly lay claim to that distinction on the record as it is already compiled.

Since much of that record had been proposed and backed by other Presidents to no effect there is a busy search on for an explanation of how it happens. Senator CASE, of New Jersey, takes the view that the stars influenced the conjunction of the man and the times, that ideas germinating for years came to full growth at the moment of a national leadership committed to their ad-

vancement. This sound examination omits the part played by the ruthless rightwing of the Republican Party when at San Francisco last July it seized upon a transitory majority position to compel a national referendum upon those ideas in a stark yes-or-no plebiscite. It must be put down as the worst blooper in American political history.

A national system of health insurance, now called medicare, was being debated when Lyndon Johnson came to Washington as a young congressman and Franklin D. Roosevelt was President. During the nearly three decades intervening before last year's election it was regularly offered, and was never able to reach the floor of the House for a vote.

The campaigning Mr. Johnson told audiences "medicare will be at the top of my list" of legislative recommendations. His opponent rejected the concept out of hand. The popular response in November told the story: Johnson, 43,128,956; Goldwater, 27,177,873. By forcing the issue the far out right had insured the success of the precise legislation to which it was most fiercely opposed.

Congressmen are adept at reading election returns. The first bill introduced in the two Houses when the newly elected Congress met in January was medicare. The American Medical Association made its contribution by coming forward with a counterproposal that was so palpably a hoax that it was never given serious attention. On April 8, given its first chance ever to go on record on the subject and its Democratic numbers swollen by the November landslide, the House voted, 313 to 115, for a medicare bill much broader even than the White House had first recommended.

Action in the Senate, sure to be favorable, is slated for June.

Only in a single respect is smooth administration progress flawed. This is a Congress that bristles at economy.

An integral part of Mr. Johnson's budgetary approach calls for cutting appropriations for some old programs to offset in a measure the costs of new undertakings in fields like education, the war on poverty, and job training. Here it encounters vested interests particularly rural interests, regardless of party. He would like to lop \$20 million from the agricultural appropriation for soil conservation services—a project started in 1929 on a modest \$160,000 which followed the historical mushrooming course over the years—and start charging farmers for some of the services they now get free. Farmers are sturdily for economy in urban activities, but their appropriations are sacred. The administration faces a heavy test in this field, where Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower were rebuffed.

Still ahead are legislative undertakings that may signal a warning of the current congressional euphoria. It is significant, though, that at this time nobody is putting any achievement down as impossible.

A tough nut is the bill for immigration reform, which would do away with the odious system of quotas based on national origins. Hearings have started, but no solid indications are yet available. The word on Capitol Hill, however, cautions against selling the President short on anything he puts his hand to for the indefinite future.

AMERICAN TOWNE HOUSE PROGRAM

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, a few days ago, an employee of the Senate dining room asked if I had endorsed the Monarch Construction Corp.'s American townhouse program, which has recently been publicized in Washington newspapers. He went on to say that he had

(Lindbergh and Lincoln)

Two Human Symbols

THEIR birthdays are the fourth and the twelfth of February.

The tall young Railsplitter, and the tall young Aviator. Humble, honest and modest!



COL. LINDBERGH

Both are Mid-Western Products!

Both are Mid-American Symbols!

When Lindbergh was twenty-five he flew to Paris!

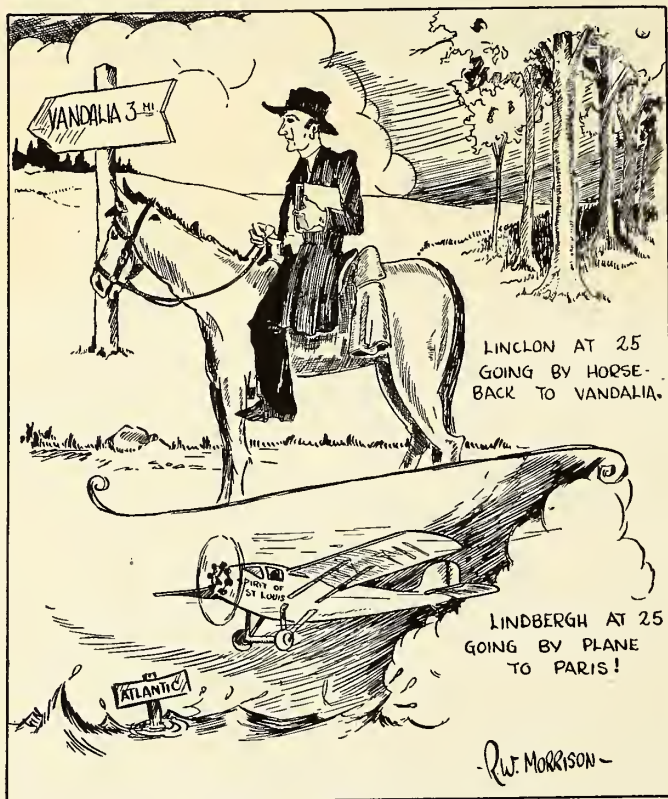
When Lincoln was twenty-five, he, too, made an interesting trip—on a horse to Vandalia to attend the meeting of the Illinois Legislature, to which he had been elected as the youngest member.

To us, these two human symbols, Lincoln on his horse, and Lindbergh in his areoplane represent the development of America from a primitive nation of pioneer people to a world power in a crowd-machine-scraper-movie-radio-aero-auto age.

Lindbergh and Lincoln

EVEN three and four years after his flight, the roads about his New Jersey farm were blocked on week-ends with the cars of admirers who wanted to catch a glimpse of him, and it was said that he could not even send his shirts to a laundry because they did not come back—they were too valuable as souvenirs. His picture hung in hundreds of schoolrooms and in thousands of houses. No living American—no dead American, one might almost say, save perhaps Abraham Lincoln—commanded such unswerving fealty. You might criticize Coolidge or Hoover or Ford or Edison or Bobby Jones or any other headline hero; but if you decried anything that Lindbergh did, you knew that you had wounded your auditors. For Lindbergh was a god.

Pretty good, one reflects, for a stunt flyer. But also, one must add, pretty good for the American people. They had shown that they had better taste in heroes than anyone would have dared to predict during the years which immediately preceded the 20th of May, 1927.



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To us, these two human symbols, Lincoln on his horse, and Lindbergh in his aeroplane, represent the development of America from a primitive nation of pioneer people to a world power in a crowd-machine-skyscraper-movie-radio-aero-auto age.

The Midwest Review. February 1932

LINCOLN AND LOWELL

Who first discerned the greatness of the man whose birthday will be celebrated throughout the nation today?

Half the North heard with dismay of his nomination for the presidency. The neighbors back home thought of him as much with pity as with admiration when he took the train that rainy morning at Springfield. Powerful personages reviled, and influential periodicals ridiculed, him during the years of the war.

Edward Everett complimented him on his address at Gettysburg, but that was not necessarily more than the polite expression demanded by the occasion. The fortunate mistake by Jefferson Davis in shifting commanders before Atlanta perhaps saved him from defeat in 1864.

One reads today memoirs and diaries and the magazines and newspapers of the civil war period and rarely comes upon anything indicative of real appreciation of the man who saved the Union. Nobody could resist the sequence of the events which began with the second inaugural and ended with the assassination, and mourning was universal, but how many were there who could foresee the place Abraham Lincoln was to hold in history? Even his secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, began only dimly to understand what was to be when they saw the people of the countryside standing beneath their torches throughout the nights while the funeral train rolled by.

Let it not be forgotten that among the first to recognize the grandeur of the man were three New Englanders, James Russell Lowell, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Charles Eliot Norton, and the most remarkable of these was Lowell. What a contrast between the two men, the self-educated giant from the backwoods and the polished product of the schools of the East!

To get the full effect of the Commemoration Ode, one must remember that the war had ended "only yesterday." Lincoln had been dead less than a hundred days when Lowell before that splendid audience at Harvard pronounced him "the first American." Yet more remarkable is the little known fact that in the issue of the North American Review for the first quarter of 1864 there appeared a long article written in December, 1863, by Lowell on the policies of the President. So early did that refined scholar see the man as he was and strike heavy blows in rebuke of those who maligned him! Others comprehended dimly, Lowell clearly. The great tragedy revealed him to most. Lowell was of the few who knew before.

MARK

DOCTRINES OF LINCOLN AND MARX CONTRASTED

Contrasting the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln and those of Karl Marx—one preaching the dignity of man and the freedom of the individual and the other emphasizing the supremacy of an autocratic state—Ralph E. Becker, chairman of the Young Republican National Federation of Washington, D.C., last night delivered a Lincoln Day address to Republican men and women in the Valley Park Country Club, Sherman Oaks.

Lincoln's basic conception of government, Becker told his listeners, was summarized in a statement made in 1854 — the year in which the Republican party was organized — and was a complete rejection of the preachings of Karl Marx as now exemplified in the Communist system.

"It was on July 1, 1854," said

Becker, "that Abraham Lincoln made the following statement, as pertinent today as then."

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves government ought not to interfere."

The head of the young G.O.P. group then cited the radical departure from this Lincolnian philosophy under the New Deal administration at Washington in the last 16 years.

Experience thus has shown, Becker argued, that if the youth of the nation desires opportunity "and is not afraid of responsibility" it must put its faith behind and its efforts in the Republican party.

4 Los Angeles Times

Part I—FRIDAY, FEB. 13, 1948

LINCOLN AND MERCIER

To the Editor of The New York Times:

So few are the great humanists, actual leaders of men, that the passing of one leaves the world mourning irreparable loss.

The lives of Cardinal Mercier and Abraham Lincoln afford violent contrasts—yet curious similarities. The beloved priest, honored by his flock, working along secluded scholarly lines, rose in one tragic hour to become a heroic world figure. The other—a plain man, buffeting his way through years of bitter, patient poverty, daily assailed, jeered, derided—finally murdered—yet unfailingly gentle and kind, meek and wise; in matters religious, professing only infinite love for his Maker and fellow men; “with malice toward none.”

What a contrast! Yet how marvelously alike, these great souls; after big game—the deliverance of men.

Hiding his hurts, Lincoln led the way to victory, moral and material; and lived just two weeks after the long agony of war was done! Snubbed, insulted by nonentities he had lifted from obscurity, tittered at, openly, by the wives of petty politicians—like Barrie's Sir Andrew Barton he might say, “I'll just lie down and bleed awhile—and then I'll rise and fight

again.” After Seward, in biting irony remarked that Livingston need not go to Africa for his gorilla (a personal, shameful thrust) Lincoln made him Secretary of State!

How quick, the most of us, to retort that “no redblooded men can stand for that, of course—”! And once—when a noted man asked him to call, in conference and dismissed him at the door, having changed his mind—a friend of Lincoln who was with him waxed wroth as they plodded their way home in silence. He urged revenge—reprisal:

“No,” said Lincoln, in his half-sorrowful, half-humorous way, “If he will fight my battles for me, I will hold his horse for him.”

The brave and saintly Cardinal was spared a life of daily, poisonous hurts and venomous attacks of those he had lifted and succored—such wounds as Lincoln bore, meekly and “opening not his mouth” all his harassed life.

Both lives were miracles, and prove how like are great souls; how happily these two might commune with one another in the hereafter! No doubt they do!

LAURA SIMMONS.

New York, Feb. 5, 1926.

LINCOLN & MUSKIE

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Saturday-Sunday, Jan. 15-16, 1972

John Fischetti



"Here' the senator's speech, Enid--scribble it out in triplicate on the backs of envelopes."

The Outlook, February 9, 1921.

LINCOLN AND PAUL, APOSTLES OF CHARITY

A MICHIGAN reader of The Outlook writes us that, having "a fancy for knowing the day of the week upon which people are born, and having a file of old almanacs including one of the year 1809, I looked up the 12th of February and found that in that year Quinquagesima Sunday fell on that date. So when Prayer-Book folk everywhere were repeating the collect for the day and praying for 'that most excellent gift of charity,' and the wonderful thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians was being read, Abraham Lincoln was born. I think it is a beautiful thing to know, and wish many might know it."

It is certainly at least a happy coincidence that Lincoln, the great modern apostle of charity, should have been born on a Sunday which is forever associated in the literature and worship of a great Church with the name of Paul, the foremost primitive apostle of charity. Paul says in the letter to which our correspondent refers:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. . . . Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

And Lincoln in his second inaugural address uttered the memorable words:

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, and to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among all nations."

Good words these are, from both apostles, for encouragement and inspiration in the present crisis of world affairs.

LINCOLN as PERICLES

The Chicago Herald & Examiner 2-12-27

PERICLES as LINCOLN

BY PETER L. LAMBROS,
Editor of Greek Star.

As the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln is observed today millions of liberty-loving Americans will pay a tribute to the great Emancipator and will do homage to the ideals, the deeds and the achievements of America's greatest—Abraham Lincoln.

Being an American by adoption and loyal to Columbia, I feel that it is, indeed, a great privilege and honor to take part, as an American citizen, in commemorating this great event, that symbolizes the ideals and sacred traditions of Lincoln, who, as a new shining star of Bethlehem, inspired the American people to have faith that "right makes might" and "in that faith" he has done his duty to preserve the Union.

Many years have come and gone since Lincoln's Gettysburg speech was delivered, yet as the years rolled by the memory and the glory of the great martyr is marching triumphantly. In truth, he now lives, speaks and leads wherever the thought of liberty, justice and love for humanity finds lodgment in the hearts and the minds of the American people.

Lincoln at first belonged to Illinois, then to the nation, he then passed on to the ages, and now is one of the world's greatest immortals.

In view of the fact that Lincoln belongs to the world, it was often asked as to how such a notable man can be classed. But as every great man is in a class of his own, Lincoln is in a class of his own—that is, as great as any great man. Reviewing historical conditions both at the time of Pericles and Lincoln, and in comparing these distinguished statesmen, we find a striking similarity in the problems solved by both—the statesmanship and the wisdom of Pericles and Lincoln. Both were great leaders and statesmen of high intellectual power, varied culture, clear vision, superiority in thought and democratic ideals, which were eventually brought to realization.

The Funeral Oration.

Ever since the world began there have been only two notable epitaphs pronounced by two great orators under the same conditions and for the same purpose. Pericles delivered 2,000 years ago the "funeral oration" in honor of the Athenians who fell in the Peloponnesian war, when Athens had to contend against Sparta. Lincoln delivered his brilliant "Gettysburg speech" sixty years ago in memory of the dead who fell in the Civil War, when the North had to contend against

the South. Isn't that history repeating itself? Both wars were fought by brothers against brothers for the same cause; both epitaphs were delivered exactly for the same purpose. The Athenians were fighting against the Spartans, and the northerners against the southerners in order to create nations that would stand as the symbols of democracy, freedom and civilization.

Beginning with his "Funeral Oration," Pericles eulogized his ancestors, as Lincoln did, by saying "our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty."

Pericles, going on with his speech, mentioned the fact that "the country was brought to a test by the Peloponnesian war, and, his country had to prove superior to its fame." Lincoln said, "Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

Pericles' speech said, "It was for such a country that these dead heroes nobly resolved to fight and fell fighting for freedom." Referring to Lincoln's oration, "We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live."

Pericles asserted, "When men have shown themselves brave by deeds, they should also be honored by deeds." Lincoln stated that, "The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or to detract."

And when Pericles referred to the dead he spoke as follows: "I shall not offer condolence, so much as consolation. Happy are the men who have gained the most glorious death for freedom as these have, to whom life has been so exactly measured that they were both, happy in it, and they died in happiness." And when Lincoln referred to the heroes he said, "From these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Pericles again refers to the fact that "the bravery of the great heroes is a great historical event that will receive such a renown which never will grow old." Lincoln heralded that "The world here will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

Both Had Same Thought.

In making a careful analysis of both speeches we will be greatly inspired to learn, though not the same words were spoken by the great orators, nevertheless both possessed the same eloquence, both expressed the same thought, both displayed the same statesmanship, the same wisdom, the same democratic ideals, the same honor for the dead, the same love for humanity, the same devotion towards their countries, and the same inspiration to unite their people under one flag and one government.

Pericles became the champion of democracy and sowed the seed of democratic principles when he said, "we enjoy a form of government that is not for the benefit of a few, but for all concerned"; this is "Demokratos," that is, what we call democracy. But it was Abraham Lincoln who gave so clearly and so distinctly the meaning of democracy, when he declared, "that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln was as great as Pericles, and Pericles was as great as Lincoln. Pericles was the founder of democracy and Lincoln brought it up to the point of perfection.

To observe Lincoln's anniversary is a matter of patriotic duty for all, but this great event must be celebrated with a united feeling and spirit appropriate to this occasion. Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Pericles said, "Where the greatest prizes of virtue are given, there also the most virtuous men are to be found among the citizens."

We may cheer ourselves of the thought of Lincoln, and we may feel proud of the victories of the American flag, but let us bear in mind that, when we are called upon to eulogize Lincoln, we are also called upon to demonstrate, in truthfulness and in reality, our devotion to the ideals and sacred traditions for which Lincoln lived and died. An American is not a man who merely calls himself an American, but an American is a man, or a woman, who respects the constitution, stands by our government, and who follows the flag and keeps step to the music.

Pericles

LINCOLN AND PERICLES TWO GREATEST MEN

Orator in Chicago Finds
Similarity in Views of
American and Greek.

SAME AIMS SOUGHT
2,000 YEARS AGO

Oration of Pericles and Gettysburg
Address Along Same Lines —
Both Termed Greatest of Lam-
entations — General Observance
of Lincoln Anniversary in Chi-
cago and Elsewhere.

By Associated Press.

1523

Chicago, Feb. 12.—Abraham Lincoln and Pericles were linked as the "greatest champions of democracy the world has ever known" by P. S. Lambros, publisher of the Greek Star, of Chicago, in an address prepared for delivery today at the Hamilton Club's observance of the 114th anniversary of the birth of the emancipator. He took as his subject "Pericles' Funeral Oration and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the World's Most Notable Lamentations."

"Lincoln's birthday," Mr. Lambros said, "is a lesson that teaches us to be more patriotic, better Americans, to let us have faith to believe that right is might, and firm in that conviction let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as God gives us to see it."

He declared that the Gettysburg address, translated in all languages of the world, is universally known as the greatest lamentation in the history of mankind, and that altho it is in a class by itself, historical records showed another notable funeral oration delivered in Athens by Pericles over 2,000 years ago.

Perfector of Democracy.

"In making a comparison of the democratic ideals of both men," the speaker said, "we can safely say that Pericles was the originator of democracy and Lincoln was the perfecter."

"In making further study and analysis of the events that occurred in 361 B. C., and the facts that occurred in 1861 A. D., we note that the events which took place between the 2,000 years were really the same. The two great orations delivered by the two great men to pay tribute to dead heroes were delivered to inspire democracy. Pericles' funeral oration stands as the old testament of democracy, while Lincoln's

Gettysburg address stands as the gospel of democracy.

"Pericles delivered his famous funeral oration on the graves of Greek heroes who fought and died in the civil war between north and south of Greece—between Athens and Sparta. In the south were slaves; in Sparta the Helots. The Helots were the property of their masters."

"It was the ambition of Pericles to abolish slavery and oligarchy. Lincoln believed that all men were born equal. Pericles said, as regards the laws of Athens, 'all enjoy equality.'"

"Pericles commenced his funeral oration by saying, 'I will begin, then, with our ancestors; our fathers inherited a country with everything, so as to be the most self-sufficient, both for peace and for war.' Quoting Lincoln, we note: 'Our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty.'"

"Aside from the addresses delivered by both, they have the same philosophical similarity in other speeches. Lincoln said: 'I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true.' Pericles said: 'Where the greatest prizes of virtue are given, there also the most virtuous men are to be found among the citizens.'"

Greatest Men in World.

"Lincoln and Pericles stand as the greatest men of the world. They were the sons of good mothers who made the supreme sacrifice, and sent them to die for a noble cause. As Pericles said: 'Deeming happiness to consist in freedom, and freedom in valor, do not think lightly of the hazards of war.' When men die for their country, there is no greater devotion than that. They die without complaint; faith in their hearts and hopes that their country will triumph and civilization will survive. They fought and died, believing in the justice of their country's call."

"You can not be a true American unless you believe in the ideals of Lincoln and unless you follow the flag and keep step to the music."

Other Ceremonies in Chicago.

Ceremonies commemorating the 114th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, the emancipator, will be held in Chicago today by numerous societies and patriotic organizations.

Public schools, all branches of the municipal government excepting police and fire departments, banks, post-offices and city hall offices will be closed.

Certain of the ceremonies will be held at Lincoln statue in Lincoln park, while various independent patriotic bodies will have private or public memorial meetings.

LINCOLN AND PERICLES.

CHICAGO, Feb. 13.—(The Associated Press.)—Abraham Lincoln and Pericles were linked as the "greatest champions of democracy the world has ever known" by P. S. Lambros, publisher of the Greek Star, of Chicago, in an address yesterday at an observance of the anniversary of the birth of the emancipator. He took as his subject "Pericles' Funeral Oration and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address."

SAN FRANCISCO BULLETIN

11/23/12

Wendell Phillips vs. Lincoln.

The movement for a Fremont convention resulted in some political fellowships and declarations that seem strange in the corrected perspective of fifty years later. It placed Wendell Phillips, foremost among the advocates of abolition of slavery, on record in denunciation of Abraham Lincoln.

The famous anti-slavery orator believed Lincoln was not carrying out a proper program for freeing the slaves. He favored a candidate who would confiscate the land of all confederates, extend the right of suffrage to blacks and white, change the constitution to prohibit slavery, and forbid the states to make any distinction between their citizens on account of color—objects, except the first, later attained wholly or in part, but the attainment of which Mr. Phillips believed impossible under Lincoln. For that reason he urged the nomination of "a statesman and a patriot" as a candidate for the presidency.

These ideas were embodied in a letter addressed by Mr. Phillips to the Fremont convention, in which he denounced the administration as "a civil and military failure," and deplored the possibility of continuance of "the despotic power" of Lincoln, whom he believed was "wholly unwilling to use the means at hand to secure peace and freedom."

To General Fremont Mr. Phillips turned with hope, as to one "whose thorough loyalty to democratic institutions, without regard to race, whose earnest and decisive character, whose clear-sighted statesmanship, and rare military ability justified the confidence of Mr. Phillips that 'in his hands all will be done to save the state that foresight, skill, decision and statesmanship can do.'"

These words are interesting today for their value in showing how much the vision of a man great in his own field was obscured as to the true position of the man who was the ordained leader of the reforms so vehemently demanded by Phillips and his followers.

Denouncing Lincoln.

It had been hoped that Horace Greeley would indorse the Cleveland convention, but Greeley had tersely replied that he was interested in only one convention, the one that Grant was holding before Petersburg.

The Cleveland gathering was to bring the name of Grant before the country for the first time as a presidential possibility, and for that can claim a place in history. The Grant men made no headway, however, since they were looked upon by their associates as agents of the administration.

This use of Grant's name, in fact, every detail of the convention, was magnified by the democratic press as indicating a serious split in the republican party, presaging the downfall of Lincoln.

For two days before the convention dispatches from Cleveland to the democratic press, represented great preparations being made for the schismatic republican convention; the arrival of crowds, excitement at the hotels, and an air of political revolution over everything. These representations were artifices, held to be justifiable in their day, for making capital out of the defection of General Fremont and his followers.

When the convention met it was found that there were not enough delegates

and spectators to fill Chapin hall, a room accommodating 600 people. The hour for calling the meeting to order was delayed from 10 to 12, in the hope that more delegates would arrive.

General Cochrane, who was a war democrat, was elected chairman. He was a moderate and discreet politician, and before going to the convention had called on Lincoln, and assured the president of his personal friendliness to the administration. His speech to the convention was natural. Some of the others were far from being so. One delegate denounced Lincoln as a pro-slavery politician, another as an obstacle to freedom.

Lincoln on Fremont.

The platform adopted by the convention was moderate in tone, except that it advocated the confiscation of the property of confederates. It declared the union must be preserved and the war ended by force of arms.

Wendell Phillips' letter was followed by a speech for Grant by a New York delegate; but when a Missourian placed the name of General Fremont in nomination, it was unanimously indorsed. The name of General Cochrane being adopted, the convention adjourned to meet again in the evening.

No stress had been laid on the fact that none of the delegates had been sent to the convention by a regularly constituted political gathering, or that the nomination of candidates for presidency and vice presidency from the same state—General Fremont was a resident of New York—was illegal.

In the evening a committee reported on a name for the new party, which was called the "Radical Democracy." The convention then adjourned.

When President Lincoln was told of the nomination of General Fremont, and that there were about 400 delegates at the convention, he reached for the bible that lay on his desk, and after a few minutes' search, turning to the 22d verse of the 22d chapter of the second book of the prophet Samuel, read:

"And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves together, and he became a captain over them and there were with him about 400 men."

This apt quotation furnished one of the best-known political anecdotes of Lincoln to be found in history.

General Fremont in his letter of acceptance denounced the administration as a failure. He believed it would be fatal to the country to renominate Mr. Lincoln.

A few days later Lincoln was renominated. Friends urged General Fremont to withdraw as a candidate. He declined, but the September elections in Maine and Vermont having shown little if any Fremont sentiment in those states, on September 17 General Fremont formally withdrew his name as a candidate.

Pius.

Columbus, Lincoln, Pius XI.

• 2-12-1922

There is a peculiar significance—not to be explained as anything more than a symbolism, but nevertheless highly interesting—in the parallel with important American anniversaries in the life story of His Holiness Pius XI.

He was born on Columbus Day, October 12. His coronation took place today, the 122d anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

Those who seek divinations and prognostications in the accidents of life will have much to ponder upon in these twin coincidences. They will undoubtedly find an explanation.

Some disposed to indulge in prophecy will no doubt suggest that the new Supreme Pontiff will take from the great navigator the impulse to fare afar, a privilege heretofore denied the Popes of Rome.

And from the Great Emancipator, whose natal day is the occasion for the consummation of Achille Ratti's great honor, he may gather the impulse to emancipate himself and his Church from its present localization within the narrow confines of the Vatican. *Evening Telegram (N.Y.)*

ARY 13, 1939

Holmes Likens Pope's Career To Lincoln Life

**Both Confronted Warfare,
He Declares and Points
to Simplicity of Natures**

Abraham Lincoln and Pope Pius XI were alike in simplicity, magnanimity and dauntless strength, John Haynes Holmes said yesterday in his sermon at the services of the Community Church in Town Hall, 123 West Forty-third Street.

"There are aspects of Pope Pius's career which present striking parallels to Lincoln's career," he said. "Pius had a better upbringing and a far better education than the Kentucky pioneer boy, but there was the same plebeian origin. Then there is the Pope's reign as head of the Roman Catholic Church in a period of unprecedented confusion and terror. Pius XI confronted a world at war, which had in many places turned against the Church and assailed her with hatred and destruction. What Lincoln faced in the White House the Pope faced in the Vatican.

Both Lincoln and late pontiff possessed "the same humility, mingled with rocklike patience and determination," Mr. Holmes added.

Lincoln and Lee Compared

The lives of Lincoln and of Robert E. Lee express the genius of democracy at its best, the Rev. Elmore M. McKee, rector of St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, said yesterday in his morning sermon.

"Against a background of corrupt politics and divisive factors of hatred and suspicion Lincoln and Lee gave to our nation a new leadership according to Christian principles of love and honor," he said.

"When such leadership is no longer forthcoming democracy will die."

Lincoln as Counselor Lauded

If one man could be recalled from the past for counsel and guidance, the majority of Americans would desire Lincoln, the Rev. Dr. George Paull T. Sargent said yesterday in his sermon at St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church, Park Avenue at Fifty-first Street.

"Four things combined to produce Lincoln's inner victory; sorrow, love, faith and service," he said. "Lincoln's days were fraught with great anxiety, but through this inward struggle his spirit was purified."

CAPITAL COMMENT

EDITED BY JOHN SANSING

HELLO, MUDDAH, HELLO, FADDAH, HERE WE ARE AT CAMP MARVIN

While most first ladies enjoy weekends at Camp David, Barbara Bush has been sneaking off to Camp Marvin. Actually, it's the same place, but the administration has made a quiet little name change of the presidential retreat in the Catoctin mountains of Maryland.

The in-joke got started after presidential son Marvin Bush kept complaining about his name, which he has always disliked. After the election, Marvin told his parents that they owed him a big favor for burdening him with that moniker. Within the family, the joke got to be that the big favor would be to change the name of the presidential retreat to Camp Marvin. There was precedent: Camp David got its name when President Dwight Eisenhower decided to honor his grandson by renaming the retreat, which had been known as Shangri-la.

Marvin's wife Margaret even had T-shirts made up reading "Camp Marvin." On Barbara Bush's in-house schedule, Camp Marvin is sometimes listed instead of Camp David.

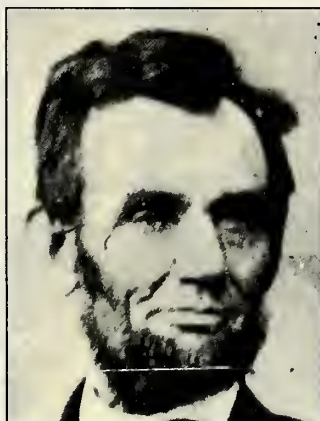
Okay, the retreat still will be officially known as Camp David. The Camp Marvin Accords doesn't have the same ring.

IS DAN QUAYLE PRESIDENTIAL? IT SEEMS TO BE IN HIS GENES



STEVE PURCELL/THE WHITE HOUSE

DAN QUAYLE
All Those Famous Kin



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Dan's Great Something

Dan Quayle for president? Maybe—now that George Bush has embraced him as his running mate for a second term. Meanwhile a peep up Dan's family tree proves that presidential possibilities run in the family, says William Addams Reitwiesner, our favorite Washington genealogist.

Quayle is a sixth cousin four times removed of Abraham Lincoln, through their common ancestor John Whitman of Weymouth, Massachusetts, who died in 1685. Quayle's also kin to Gerald Ford through common ancestor William Comstock, and to William Howard Taft and Franklin Delano Roosevelt through Thomas Lawrence. Lawrence's widow and children

came to America in the 1600s; he was descended in turn from King Louis IV of France.

Quayle's Mayflower antecedents are 24-carat, says Reitwiesner; he's descended from Miles Standish and John Alden. Miles's son Alexander married Sarah, daughter of John Alden and Priscilla "Speak-for-yourself-John" Mullins, and Dan sprang from that line. So did Helen Pitts, the second wife of Frederick Douglass.

And through the Reverend John Mayo of Barnstable, Massachusetts, who died in 1676, Dan is a tenth cousin once removed of George Bush.

Cozy, no?

—DIANA McLELLAN

WHAT WE'VE HEARD

That what *The Washingtonian* failed to report last month in covering the death of vice presidential pet **Justice** was that the Quayles were out of town when the much-loved dog died. Sympathetic aides iced the mutt until the Quayles could return for a proper burial. Justice lay in state at a Bethesda vet's office, and not in the vice-presidential mansion's huge refrigerator, as one aide had suggested. . . . That **Barbara Bush** has been taking some kidding since *Parade* magazine estimated her weight as between 135 and 140 pounds. When one Secret Service agent suggested that she must have lost weight, she responded, "You've just been transferred to protect President Barco of Colombia."

. . . That the First Lady isn't that sensitive about her weight. She told one group, "I was born 135 pounds," and commented that "Nancy Reagan is a size four and so is one of my thighs." . . . That **Nancy Reagan's** collaborator on *My Turn*, **William Novak**, is the same William Novak who authored the 1980 book *High Culture*, a somewhat approving look at marijuana usage in the United States. . . . *Washington Post* editorial-page editor **Meg Greenfield** is very embarrassed about being portrayed in **Nancy Reagan's** book as the former first lady's bosom buddy. *My Turn* makes Meg look like Nancy's personal confidante and luncheon pal. And Meg is telling friends it just isn't true. . . . That singer **Joe Williams**, introducing the glitteratti in his audience at Anton's 1201 Club, focused in on one ringside table. He had long and lavish praise for former AFI head **George Stevens**, then similar praise for civil-rights leader and attorney **Vernon Jordan** and famous writer **Sally Quinn**. Finally there was just one ever-dapper celeb remaining. Then he stumbled: "And—ah, uh, . . . the husband—uh, the *Washington Post*." Yo, Ben. . . . That those early-morning departures of **George Bush** on Air Force One have caught several aides napping. Latest victim: press secretary **Marlin Fitzwater**, who missed a 5:30 AM takeoff for the earthquake inspection tour of San

FIRST LADY BARBARA BUSH



UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

Francisco. No chastising by White House Chief of Staff **John Sununu**, since he's missed one, too. . . . That **J. Carter Brown** has volunteered to take over the troubled Corcoran Gallery, folding it into his National Gallery of Art. Don't bet on it. . . . That one new power pairing around town is *Washington Post* contributor and Graham daughter **Lally Weymouth** with **Barry Diller**, Fox Television's chairman and chief executive officer.

DRUG ADS

Every December *The Washingtonian* works with advertising agencies to do public-service ads on one theme. This year the ads are aimed at middle-class drug abusers—not the crack-house crowd but the affluent users who help to fund the underground drug economy. See pages 100, 132, 234, and 281 for ads by Peter Wong & Associates; Rainbow Adworks, USA Ltd.; Van Sant Dugdale; and Hawley Martin Advertising.

Schweitzer Second Only To Lincoln

(Chicago Tribune)

Abraham Lincoln has been reported to be the man most respected by 1,500 Japanese in 150 communities interviewed in a recent survey. Dr. Albert Schweitzer was third. Placing second and fourth were Dr. Hideo Noguchi (1876-1928) and Yukichi Fukuzawa (1834-1901), who require some further identification for most of us.

Second to Lincoln in this prestige poll was a medical doctor notable for three specialties: snake venom, syphilis, and yellow fever. A martyr to his research, at the age of 51 he died of yellow fever at Accra, then the capital of the Gold Coast and now of Ghana. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania and was long connected with the Rockefeller In-

stitute for Medical Research in New York City. Fukuzawa, founder of a university and author of books that sold 4 million copies, effectively championed the westernization of his country.

Showing how long distance lends enchantment to contemporary figures in government, President Kennedy placed sixth in this poll (after Thomas A. Edison), while the emperor of Japan was only 14th and Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda trailed 28 others.

As the newspaper most early and most intimately associated with Lincoln — long before he was well known thruout his own country, to say nothing of the other side of the world—**The Tribune** especially takes satisfaction in the high regard in which the man from Springfield is held in Japan.

DAILY NEWS

Monday, February 12, 1951

Tel. Murray Hill 2-1234

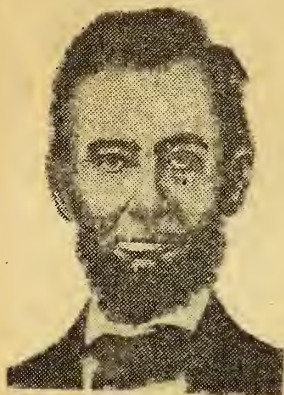
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FROM LINCOLN TO STALIN

Often, on Feb. 12, Abraham Lincoln's birthday, editorial writers quote at least excerpts from the writings of the Great Emancipator. Such passages are eminently readable;



Abraham Lincoln:
Feb. 12, 1809-April 15, 1865

Lincoln's words, particularly those of his Gettysburg Address and his "With malice toward none" speech at his second inauguration as President, rank with the world's immortal literature and deserve repetition.

Much of this column will be devoted to other quotations, taken from the current issue of a small magazine called "The Challenge." We believe that Lincoln would have approved.

"The Challenge" is written and printed by former slaves who have escaped to this country from their Communist Party masters. They have organized themselves as "The Association of Former Political Prisoners of Soviet Labor Camps" and issue their modest magazine from Room 325, 112 W. 72d St., New York City.

Most of the material is in the form of brief autobiographies. Here are some fragments of their case histories:

By Michael Rozanoff: "Slavery in the USSR is often visualized in this country in over-simplified terms: 'The slaves are driven on by sticks or rifle butts.' Unfortunately, Bolshevism has invented a far more effective system of exploitation which forces the slaves to give up their last ounce of strength in its service—hunger."

By V. B., New Jersey: "... then I was sent to lumbering work in a camp near the Potma junction of the Moscow-Kazan railroad. Conditions in the camp were so frightful that prisoners chopped off their hands and feet in order to be sent to the hospital and so avoid perishing at work . . . Production norms so high . . . people died from starvation and cold."

Words by Ex-Slaves
By Luka Voronzov: "There are still people who think that Communist terror is directed only against the 'class enemies' of the proletariat. But this is not true. The Bolsheviks leave the workers alone only as long as they meekly and unprotestingly obey all the orders of their superiors."

By A. Kazimirov, now a carpenter in New York City: "The walls of our barracks dining room were hung with pictures of Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and others, interspersed with slogans such as 'Life is easier, life is merrier—Stalin.' One day . . . lost patience with this mockery and added the word 'for' before 'Stalin.' NKVD agents rushed in . . . 10 persons to forced labor in Siberia and other places."

And so they go, these pleading voices speaking for the 12,000,000—or is it 16,000,000?—human slaves inside the Soviet Iron Curtain.

To date, no Russian Lincoln has emerged.

Stevenson's Doubts Echo Lincoln's



BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

NO ONE will properly understand the hesitations of Gov. Stevenson, who does not realize his preoccupation with the mind and destiny of one Abe Lincoln of Illinois. Stevenson knows Lincoln, not only as a scholar studying the records and treading Lincoln's ground, but with the insight that comes of a deep temperamental affinity.

Lincoln did not want to be President, not out of coyness, but because he sensed his times as only a man of extreme sensibility and a tragic sense of life can do. He hated slavery, but even more he dreaded its solution by fratricidal war.

He was forced to steer a course between fearful choices with the somber knowledge that the future of the Union was threatened by each. He knew that the great battles of history are not between "right" and "wrong" but between conflicting concepts of right. Yet he also knew that in these crises choices have to be made "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

HE HAD little or no faith in himself: "I have often gone to my knees in the certain conviction that I had nowhere else to go." But he had unflinching faith in the ultimate judgments of a people free to choose.

He had no personal refuges. His wife never remotely understood him. He was perpetually lonely, saved from a melancholic strain only by a great sense of humor.

He was attacked by the violent abolitionists of the North as an appeaser, and in the South his name was anathema. Yet he loved the South as well as the North. A bullet opened the way for the Thaddeus Stevens spirit and the tragic era.

IN THE current issue of the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly is a speech made by Gov. Stevenson Feb. 12, titled "Lincoln as a Political Leader." It throws much light on Stevenson himself. He dug up a little-known informal talk of Lincoln's, made at Springfield at the end of his campaign against Douglas.

"It might well adorn the office wall of every public man," said Stevenson and quoted:

"Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed that this field of ambition might not be opened. I claim no insensibility to public honors.

"But today, could the Missouri restrictions be restored and the whole slavery question replaced on the ground of toleration by necessity where it exists, with the unyielding hostility to the spread of it on principle, I would in consideration agree that Justice Douglas should never be out and I never in office as long as both or either live."

That Stevenson, in quoting, was thinking of today was revealed by this comment: "In such an avowal anyone who aspires to office can find a creed: no personal or party malice, fairness in tactics, toleration of opponents, respect for honest differences, devotion to country, honest ambition, but utter subordination of self to principle."

STEVENSON would not dream of comparing himself to Lincoln, but there are analogies. The sense of the tragedy of a transitional age, the terrible awareness, the dilemmas of hateful choices, and the self-subordination are his.

Like Lincoln he does not want to be President. But, like Lincoln, he will accept a call from the people of this convention. And that call will come, not from a faction of the party, but from the whole of it, unless I have lost—as is possible—my sense of smell.

At the opening session he made the first civilized speech to be heard in this hall since the first 1952 convention—the Republican—opened. It will probably be the last, too, until he accepts the nomination.

"Intemperate criticism is not a policy . . ." Stevenson said, in part. "Denunciation is not a program . . . where we have erred, let there be no denial; where we have wronged the public trust, let there be no excuses."

People didn't yell and cheer at those words; they listened, slightly chastened. But they listened and agreed, quietly. "What counts now is not just what we are against, but what we are for," said the Illinois governor. "And what America needs and the world wants is not bombast, abuse and double talk, but a sober message of firm faith and confidence."

Stevenson can deliver that message, and that is why he will be nominated, for a task for which he believes himself inadequate, but by a decision to which he will relinquish his will.

IF NOMINATED and elected he will be beset, like Lincoln, by those "drunk with sight of power." He will be harried by the wild abolitionists of our own times who want to read the South out of the Democratic party and if possible out of the Union.

He will remember Lincoln. If he tries to avoid war by accommodations, he will be branded as an appeaser. If he fails to avoid it he will be responsible, in some measure, for the most fearful catastrophe.

He will be pushed by some, who, false to Lincoln's spirit, are not prepared to put the Communist question "on the ground of toleration by necessity where it exists," but will boom it up for a world-wide liberation crusade. Stevenson knows all this. Not to want to be President therefore merely reveals a highly superior condition of awareness.

But he was not right in saying that it is principles and not persons who count. In politics principles must be incorporated in men. What this convention with all its cross-currents is looking for is the concrete image incorporated in the governor of Illinois.

Lincoln and Sumner.

Lincoln was modestly proud of his stature and of the effect of the physical man, especially when actuated by noble sentiments. He used to speak of his height to every tall man he met, and to propose measuring—another guileless habit of self-gratification. The only refusal he is known to have received was from Charles Sumner, who was also tall and proud of his height. Sumner was worrying the President, as he often did, about some perplexing matter, when Lincoln abruptly challenged him to measure. "Sumner declined," said Lincoln, "making a fine speech about this being the time for uniting our fronts against the enemy, and not our backs. But I guess he was afraid, though he is a good piece of a man. I have never had much to do with bishops where I live, but, do you know, Sumner is my idea of a bishop."—Harper's Weekly.

* 2,13,1912

OSKALOOSA DAILY HERALD.

LINCOLN AND TAFT.

New York World: During the first nine months of 1864 all the anti-administration republicans in the United States were sure that Abraham Lincoln could not be re-elected president.

The opposition to Lincoln's re-nomination was as strong and well organized as the opposition to Taft's re-nomination.

His own cabinet was disloyal. Salmon P. Chase, his secretary of the treasury, was intriguing for the presidency. The festern radicals wanted Fremont, precisely as the western radicals today are screaming for Roosevelt. Thad Stevens, who was the republican leader of the house, was strongly opposed to Lincoln. Greeley, Wade and Davis were against him because they believed he would be defeated and that the election of a democratic president would mean national disaster. Wendell Phillips wanted "a statesman and patriot" in place of Lincoln.

The New York Herald had suggested Grant's nomination and there was a strong sentiment in favor of the hero of Vicksburg. A mass meeting of the Fremont faction of Lincoln's opponents was held in Cleveland the week before the Baltimore convention. Its attitude toward Lincoln was similar to the attitude of the Roosevelt "progressive" republicans toward Taft.

Even after Lincoln was renominated his campaign managers regarded defeat as probable. Lincoln himself shared their fears. As late as August 23, 1864, he gave a sealed memorandum to Secretary Welles, which read as follows:

"This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to co-operate with the president-elect so as to save the union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterward."

Yet in spite of all this despondency Lincoln polled 2,216,067 votes to McClellan's 1,808,725, and had 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21.

William H. Taft is not another Abraham Lincoln and 1912 is not 1864, but it is easily possible that the anti-Taft politicians of this generation may be no better prophets than the anti-Lincoln politicians of a preceding generation. Taft, like Lincoln, may be much stronger than he seems. Politics is full of surprises.

TOLSTOI HOLDS LINCOLN WORLD'S GREATEST HERO.

"Bigger than His Country, Bigger than All the Presidents Together; a Christ in Miniature."

STILL TOO NEAR TO
APPRECIATE HIS POWER.

Great Russian Tells of Reverence for Lincoln Even Among Barbarians.

By Count S. Stakelberg.

(Written Especially for The World.)

Visiting Leo Tolstoy in Yasnaya with the intention of getting him to write an article on Lincoln, I unfortunately found him not well enough to yield to my request. However, he was willing to give me his opinion of the great American statesman, and this is what he told me:

"Of all the great national heroes and statesmen of history Lincoln is the only real giant. Alexander, Frederic the Great, Caesar, Napoleon, Gladstone and even Washington stand in greatness of character, in depth of feeling and in a certain moral power far behind Lincoln. Lincoln was a man of whom a nation has a right to be proud; he was a Christ in miniature, a saint of humanity, whose name will live thousands of years in the legends of future generations. We are still too near to his greatness, and so can hardly appreciate his divine power; but after a few centuries more our posterity will find him considerably bigger than we do. His genius is still too strong and too powerful for the common understanding, just as the sun is too hot when its light beams directly on us.

Known to the Barbarians.

"If one would know the greatness of Lincoln one should listen to the stories which are told about him in other parts of the world. I have been in wild places, where one hears the name of America uttered with such mystery as if it were some heaven or hell. I have heard various tribes of barbarians discussing the New World, but I heard this only in connection with the name of Lincoln. Lincoln as the wonderful hero of America is known by the most primitive nations of Asia. This may be illustrated through the following incident:

"Once while travelling in the Caucasus I happened to be the guest of a Caucasian chief of the Circassians, who, living far away from civilized life in the mountains, had but a fragmentary

and childish conception of the world and its history. The fingers of civilization had never reached him nor his tribe, and all life beyond his native valleys was a dark mystery. Being a Mussulman he was naturally opposed to all ideas of progress and education.

"I was received with the usual Oriental hospitality and after our meal was asked by my host to tell him something of my life. Yielding to his request I began to tell him of my profession, of the development of our industries and inventions and of the schools. He listened to everything with indifference, but when I began to tell about the great statesmen and the great generals of the world he seemed at once to become very much interested.

Calls Chiefs to Listen.

"Wait a moment," he interrupted, after I had talked a few minutes. "I want all my neighbors and my sons to listen to you. I will call them immediately."

"He soon returned with a score of wild looking riders and asked me politely to continue. It was indeed a solemn moment when those sons of the wilderness sat around me on the floor and gazed at me as if hungering for knowledge. I spoke at first of our Czars and of their victories; then I spoke of the foreign rulers and of some of the greatest military leaders. My talk seemed to impress them deeply. The story of Napoleon was so interesting to them that I had to tell them every detail, as, for instance, how his hands looked, how tall he was, who made his guns and pistols and the color of his horse. It was very difficult to satisfy them and to meet their point of view, but I did my best. When I declared that I had finished my talk, my host, a gray-bearded, tall rider, rose, lifted his hand and said very gravely:

"But you have not told us a syllable about the greatest general and greatest ruler of the world. We want to know something about him. He was a hero. He spoke with a voice of thunder; he laughed like the sunrise and his deeds were strong as the rock and as sweet as the fragrance of roses. The angels appeared to his mother and predicted that the son whom she would conceive would become the greatest the stars had ever seen. He was so great that he even forgave the crimes of his greatest enemies and shook brotherly hands with those who had plotted against his life. His name was Lincoln and the country in which he lived is called America, which

is so far away that if a youth should journey to reach it he would be an old man when he arrived. Tell us of that man."

Seek Lincoln's Picture.

"Tell us, please, and we will present you with the best horse of our stock," shouted the others.

"I looked at them and saw their faces all aglow, while their eyes were burning. I saw that those rude barbarians were really interested in a man whose name and deeds had already become a legend. I told them of Lincoln and his wisdom, of his home life and youth. They asked me ten questions to one which I was able to answer. They wanted to know all about his habits, his influence upon the people and his physical strength. But they were very astonished to hear that Lincoln made a sorry figure on a horse and that he lived such a simple life.

"Tell us why he was killed," one of them said.

"I had to tell everything. After all my knowledge of Lincoln was exhausted they seemed to be satisfied. I can hardly forget the great enthusiasm which they expressed in their wild

thanks and the desire to see one of the great American heroes. I said that I probably could secure one from my friend in the nearest town, and this seemed to give them great pleasure.

"The next morning when I left the chief a wonderful Araoian horse was brought me as a present for my marvellous story, and our farewell was very impressive.

"One of the riders agreed to accompany me to the town and get the promised picture, which I was now bound to secure at any price. I was successful in getting a large photograph from my friend, and I handed it to the man with my greetings to his associates. It was interesting to witness the gravity of his face and the trembling of his hands when he received my present. He gazed for several minutes silently, like one in a reverent prayer; his eyes filled with tears. He was deeply touched and I asked him why he became so sad. After pondering my question for a few moments he replied:

"I am sad because I feel sorry that he had to die by the hand of a villain. Don't you find, judging from his picture, that his eyes are full of tears and that his lips are sad with a secret sorrow?"

"Like all Orientals, he spoke in a poetical way and left me with many deep bows.

"This little incident proves how largely the name of Lincoln is worshipped throughout the world and how legendary his personality has become.

Greatness in Moral Power.

"Now, why was Lincoln so great that he overshadows all other national heroes? He really was not a great general like Napoleon or Washington; he was not such a skilful statesman as Gladstone or Frederick the Great; but his supremacy expresses itself altogether in his peculiar moral power and in the greatness of his character. He had come through many hardships and much experience to the realization that the greatest human achievement is love.

He was what Beethoven was in music, Dante in poetry, Raphael in painting, and Christ in the philosophy of life. He aspired to be divine—and he was.

"It is natural that before he reached his goal he had to walk the highway of mistakes. But we find him, nevertheless, in every tendency true to one main motive, and that was to benefit mankind. He was one who wanted to be great through his smallness. If he had failed to become President he would be, no doubt, just as great as he is now, but only God could appreciate it. The judgment of the world is usually wrong in the beginning, and it takes centuries to correct it. But in the case of Lincoln the world was right from the start. Sooner or later Lincoln would have been seen to be a great man, even though he had never been an American President. But it would have taken a great generation to place him where he belongs.

Assassination Foreordained?

"Lincoln led prematurely by the hand of the assassin, and naturally we condemn the criminal from our viewpoint of justice. But the question is, Was his death not predestined by a divine wisdom, and was it not better for the nation and for his greatness that he died just in that way and at that particular moment? We know so little about that divine law which we call fate that no one can answer. Christ had a presentiment of His death, and there are indications that also Lincoln had strange dreams and presentiments of something tragic. If that was really the fact, can we conceive that human will could have over-

CONGR

ceive that human will could have prevented the outcome of the universal or divine will? I doubt it. I doubt also that Lincoln could have done more to prove his greatness than he did. I am convinced that we are but instruments in the hands of an unknown power and that we have to follow its bidding to the end. We have a certain apparent independence, according to our moral character, wherein we may benefit our fellows, but in all eternal and universal questions we follow blindly a divine predestination. According to that eternal law the greatest of national heroes had to die, but an immortal glory still shines on his deeds.

Bigger Than His Country.

"However, the highest heroism is that which is based on humanity, truth, justice and pity; all other forms are doomed to forgetfulness. The greatness of Aristotle or Kent is insignificant compared with the greatness of Buddha, Moses and Christ. The greatness of Napoleon, Caesar or Washington is only moonlight by the sun of Lincoln. His example is universal and will last thousands of years. Washington was a typical American, Napoleon was a typical Frenchman, but Lincoln was a humanitarian as broad as the world. He was bigger than his country—bigger than all the Presidents together. Why? Because he loved his enemies as himself and because he was a universal individualist who wanted to see himself in the world—not the world in himself. He was great through his simplicity and was noble through his charity.

"Lincoln is a strong type of those who make for truth and justice, for brotherhood and freedom. Love is the foundation of his life. That is what makes him immortal and that is the quality of a giant. I hope that his centenary birthday will create an impulse toward righteousness among the nations. Lincoln lived and died a hero, and as a great character he will live as long as the world lives. May his life long bless humanity!"

Handwritten note:
4721
2/1/19

National Affairs—(Continued)

Respect to Abraham Lincoln, the Barbarian."

It was the sort of thing that is bound to happen every so often south of the Potomac, where old hearts still harbor a bitterness elsewhere forgotten. The incident summarily dealt with by the Speaker would have attracted small notice but for one factor: among the contributors to the pamphlet was Lyon Gardiner Tyler. Onetime (1888-1919) President, now President Emeritus, of William and Mary College, Dr. Tyler is a son of John Tyler. John Tyler was tenth President of the U. S. Since the death of Robert Todd Lincoln (TIME, Aug. 2, 1926), Dr. Tyler is the oldest living son of a U. S. President. That he should join in an attack on a President beside whom his father is historically a dwarf, was not without interest.

Reason for Son Tyler's anger at the memory of President Lincoln is not far to seek. President John Tyler entered the White House in 1841 upon the death of President William Henry Harrison, hero of Tippecanoe. His hand-me-down administration, unlike that of Calvin Coolidge, contemporary prototype, was very unhappy. He had been placed upon the Whig ticket to catch Democratic votes in the South. His own Democratic tendencies, consistently displayed, made him hated by the party which he nominally headed. He retired from politics, embittered, when his term ended, and did not appear in public life again until the days of Secession, when he championed the Southern confederacy.

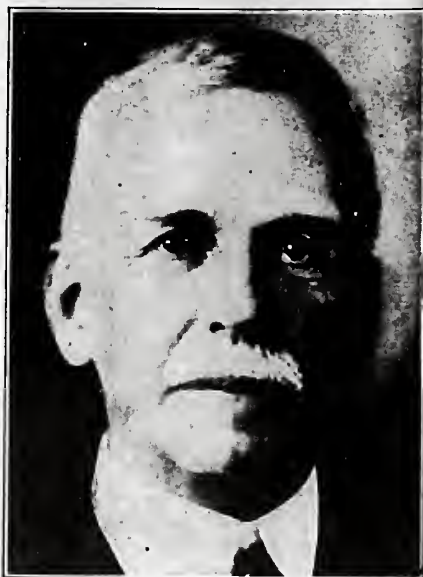
The "resolution of respect" to which Son Tyler objected was passed in February when the Virginia House of Delegates adjourned in honor of Lincoln's Birthday. Dr. Tyler's contribution to the pamphlet of protest was a letter written by him to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. It said:

"I write with no purpose of challenging the motives of the members of the House or unduly criticizing their action. On the contrary, I feel certain that that body was largely influenced by the desire of showing that spirit of forgiveness and conciliation which are so honorable to human nature and characteristic of Christian forbearance and teaching. . . . Nevertheless, I think, with all due respect, the action of the House was a great mistake. There is such a thing as excess even in kindness. . . .

"The resolution of the House appears based upon the idea that Lincoln would, if he had lived, have prevented the horrors of reconstruction." Dr. Tyler advanced two reasons for doubting this: 1) the manner in which Lincoln waged war, involving the wholesale destruction of lives and property; 2) "the instability of his character, which made him incapable of standing up against any real opposition."

Other contributors to the pamphlet, which was edited by President Langbourne M. Williams of the Southern Churchman Publishing Co., were Sergeant Giles B. Cook of Matthews Courthouse, Va., only surviving member of General Lee's staff, and G. W. B. Hale of Rocky Mount, Va. They indicted Lincoln on many a charge, including the following:

That he was a "deep-grounded infidel."



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PRESIDENT TYLER'S SON

. . . attacked President Lincoln.

That "there was nothing abnormal in his career save his well-known heretical views on the authenticity of the Bible."

That he "grossly annulled the Constitution."

That Lincoln's admirers "have produced no special act of greatness performed personally by him."

That he "adopted and favored a policy of exterminating the Southern people by the most cruel and merciless measures and means."

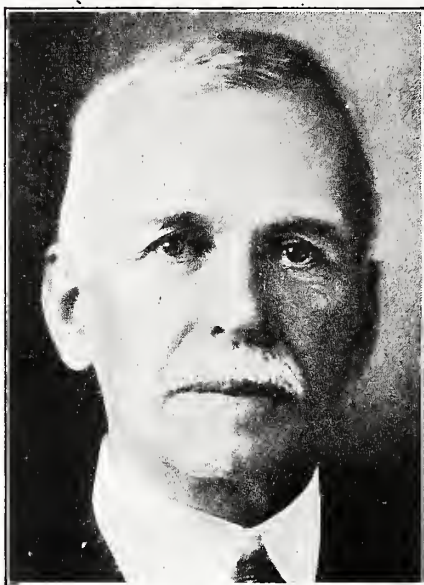
That he was shot by John Wilkes Booth because he had hanged a Confederate naval officer, John Y. Beall, "against all civilized rules of warfare."

That "by his misconduct and brutality in office he forfeited all right to respect from self-respecting, intelligent Southerners."

TIME
JUNE 1928
LETTERS

Tyler v. Lincoln

Sirs:
In your article TYLER VERSUS LINCOLN, [April 9], you seek to discredit certain criticisms made by me on Abraham Lincoln by attacking and underrating another President, John Tyler, who had, of course, nothing to do



LYON G. TYLER

"Tyler . . . skillful; Lincoln . . . in a maze."

with the case. Your comment shows that you have not kept up with the historical advance, for scholars are now agreed that the Bank was never an issue in 1840 and that Tyler was not a Democrat adopted by the Whigs but that he had as good a standing in the Whig party as any other man—the Whig party being a composite party. Moreover, Tyler's efforts for peace in 1861 exclude the idea that he had any "embitterment" against the government on account of any party quarrel in 1841.

Your article challenges a comparison. Both Tyler and Lincoln were confronted with war when they took office. In 1841 the menacing factor was Great Britain, supported by France and Mexico. Had war ensued, the Union would have been "encircled with a wall of fire." From this threatening situation the country emerged, by Tyler's skillful diplomacy, a world power, and without any bloodshed whatever. The factors in this result were the great Treaty of Washington (1842), negotiated, as Daniel Webster, Tyler's Secretary of State, declared, "from step to step and from day to day under the President's own immediate supervision and direction," the virtual protectorate established over the Hawaiian Islands, the annexation of Texas which made possible the acquisition of California

and New Mexico, and the opening of the Orient through the first treaty with China.

There was no war, and Tyler's patient negotiation contrasted with Lincoln's conduct, who with the dissolution of the Union staring him in the face made no attempt, as President-elect, to aid Tyler's peace efforts as Virginia Commissioner to Buchanan and as President of the Peace Convention. After Lincoln's inauguration his mind appeared in a kind of maze. He signed important papers without reading them, and while refusing to see the Confederate Commissioners, suffered them to tarry in Washington, where they were fed with all sorts of promises by Seward, his Secretary of State. What does James Schouler, a friendly historian say? It is that Lincoln's behavior through the month of March, 1861 was as "though he had no policy and was waiting for his Cabinet to form one for him." And yet this month was the crucial period of his administration, for the issue of peace or war was then decided!

His resolve after weeks of vacillation to reinforce Fort Sumter was a confession of bankruptcy in statesmanship, which is concerned with the preservation of human values and not the destruction of them. After that decision, force of the mass, and not skill of the individual, was called to the settlement of questions, and the North having the superior power won the war, as it would doubtless have done under any President. But how near Lincoln came to losing the war is shown by his saying that without the aid of the Negro troops taken from the South's own population "he would have had to give up the war in three weeks."

Throughout the war Lincoln danced from one position to another. Want of space prevents the mention of but two notorious instances of his instability. He decided to issue a proclamation of emancipation in July, 1863, but when Seward showed him its impropriety at the time, he admitted his error, pocketed his paper and for months later talked on both sides of the question. He at first decided to write a paper justifying the action of Captain Wilkes in seizing the Confederate Commissioners from the British steam packet *Trent*, but shortly joined with his Cabinet in making a humiliating apology to Great Britain.

As to the domestic history of John Tyler's administration, Daniel Webster eulogized his substitute measure for the Bank, called "the Exchequer" as "second" only in promise to the Constitution itself.

He pronounced his treatment of Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island as "worthy of all praise," and his management of the public funds as "remarkably cautious, exact and particular." In Tyler's time there were no public defaulters, no corrupt army contracts, and nothing resembling the present oil scandals. Instead of building up a colossal debt like Lincoln, Tyler reduced the one that came to him, and administered the government on one fourth less expense than his predecessor, Van Buren.

Alexander H. Stephens said of Tyler's State Papers that "in point of ability they compared favorably with those of any of his predecessors," and Jefferson Davis said that "He was the most felicitous among the orators he had known."

Coming to more personal matters, how is it possible to associate Tyler with such filthy stories as are ascribed to Lincoln by his friends? Granting that Tyler could not have written Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, it is also true that he could not have written, at any period of his life, the indecent letter which Lincoln wrote to a Mrs. Owens concerning a lady to whom he had proposed and by whom he had been rejected, nor could he have written any letter like that which Lincoln wrote to General Grant in 1865 asking that his son, aged 22, who had been kept at Harvard College, despite the draft, should be put on his staff and "not in the ranks." Tyler had two grandsons, privates in the Confederate Army, one of whom was killed and the other wounded, and two sons by his second marriage who surrendered at Appomattox aged 16 and 18.

Nor does it require any studied argument to make a Christian of John Tyler. As a member of the Episcopal Church he talked the language of Jesus. When being solicited to help the son of one of his political persecutors he said, "I would seek no sweeter revenge over my enemies than to do them favors."

As to his general appearance the famous Charles Dickens, who saw him in 1842, wrote of his "mild and pleasant appearance" and his "remarkably unaffected, gentlemanly agreeable manners" and added "in his whole carriage and demeanor he became his station singularly well."

Quite in contrast was the description of Lincoln

by Col. Theodore Lyman of Massachusetts, an officer on General Meade's staff, who saw Lincoln not long before his death: "There was an expression of plebeian vulgarity in his face. You recognize the recounter of coarse stories."

LYON G. TYLER

"Lion's Den"

Holdcroft P. O.,
Charles City Co., Va.

The statement of TIME which occasioned Dr. Tyler's letter was to the effect that compared to Abraham Lincoln, John Tyler was "historically a dwarf."—
ED.

BUILDERS OF LIFE

VI—The Age of Revolutions

By JAMES H. POWERS

Lincoln and Whitman

The Artificer and the Seer of Democracy

WHILE Europe was experiencing the throes of many-sided revolutionary change and growth, the young Republic in the West was coming to grips with itself over two problems that lay like barriers across its path; slavery, which loomed, specter-like, to challenge the dream of democracy and human freedom; and the question of the integrity of the Union, which took its rise from the growing quarrel about slavery as new territories entered the sisterhood of States.

Invention had spelled liberation for many; but it had riveted the chains upon the Southern negro more firmly

Property interests, North and South, stood together; and they found themselves embroiled with the spokesmen of the Nation's soul. "No lesser spirit will ever prevail over a greater spirit," Goethe had written. This truth was now revealed in the American Civil War and its results. Not only through Lincoln and his supporters was the question of slavery and union answered, but in the poet, Walt Whitman, democracy's triumphant achievement found a new prophet.

America had reached the end of that first stage in her journey which Jefferson had foreseen, when cautious conservatism had deleted from the Declaration of Independence his call for the freeing of the slaves. Her leader to rebirth was fittingly the son of a frontiersman and pioneer. For in Lincoln dwelt that essence of growing American nationality which blended practical common sense with will and courage empowered by vision.

Lincoln became the leader in action, the protagonist of democracy emancipated and unified, the guide in public affairs during storm, the homespun chieftain who saw that progress and the hope of the people lay along paths that were walked together; paths from

among the heroes of mankind, so the second, by exuberant force of his genius and vision, stalked into the company of the immortal poets.

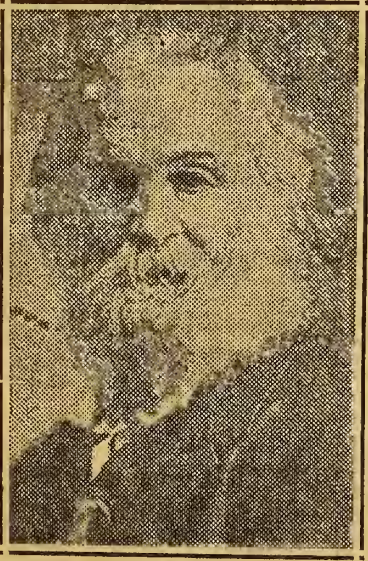
One gave his life that a people might be prepared for a broader destiny. The other dedicated his to the care of suffering war-torn boys in Washington hospitals, carrying on the while and thereafter his dead herb's appeal for a mightier, closer brotherhood bound by mutual love, made dynamic by the unfolding and growth of individual man whatever his sphere, however lowly his calling, no matter how humble his culture.

Both were persecuted; both faced the attacks calmly, and unswerving from their purpose. Lincoln was the target for calumny and revilement in the field of politics, as he campaigned for his second term. Whitman was pursued from the moment "Leaves of Grass" first attracted public attention through the efforts of Emerson, by an unceasing stream of calumny, denunciation and vile insinuation.

In both was a charity all-embracing, a spirit piercingly representative of the fresh courageous and true ideal of democracy in this eager Nation. Neither feared change or growth, nor stood in awe of institutions established, nor felt that man need feel shame before the facts of life. Both felt that shame was legitimate when man was confronted by or an agent of cruelty, injustice, hate and pettiness.

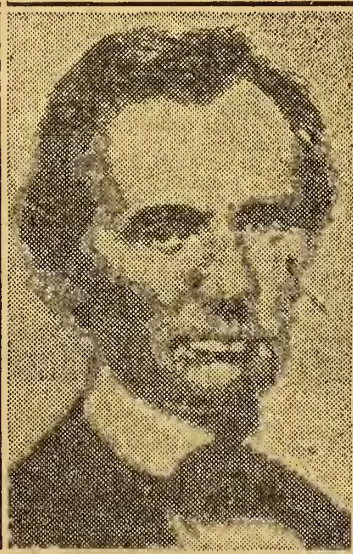
The statesman sought for an advance which should be guided by an ideal that summed up the whole aspiration of the Age of Revolution. The poet glorified that dream in the marketplace and in the factory and shop, on the prairie and in the town, in all occupations and every enterprise, in all efforts, all iust struggle by man to bring nature to his service, all sincere heart searching and honest struggle to emancipate common manhood from superstition and distrust of itself.

Lincoln was misunderstood and misrepresented for years, his prophetic partner for decades. But one had left a crystallization of the hope of the Age in his words of a Government of the people, by the people and for the people. And the other, by "Leaves of Grass," awakened in many a heart in his own generation and those that have followed a sense of the power and beauty of life, and the joy of frank self-discovery, such as stirs only under the bugle call of a genius and a poet.



WALT WHITMAN

than ever, as the cotton gin transformed a minor plantation business there into a vast industry based on unpaid labor. On the other side, hatred of slavery as a degradation of human life and a drag upon democracy had been rapidly gathering into the proportions of a hurricane.



LINCOLN

Copley print of an engraving made from the Cooper Union photograph. Retouched and copyrighted in 1904 by Curtis and Cameron

which negation and the contradiction of slavery were cleared away.

Walt Whitman, the son of a Long Island farmer, himself a carpenter, a school teacher and editor by turns, became the singer of the achievement, the prophet of its future. As the first took rank by his character and effort

Boston Globe 4-27-2



